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The Outlook

January 2, 1924

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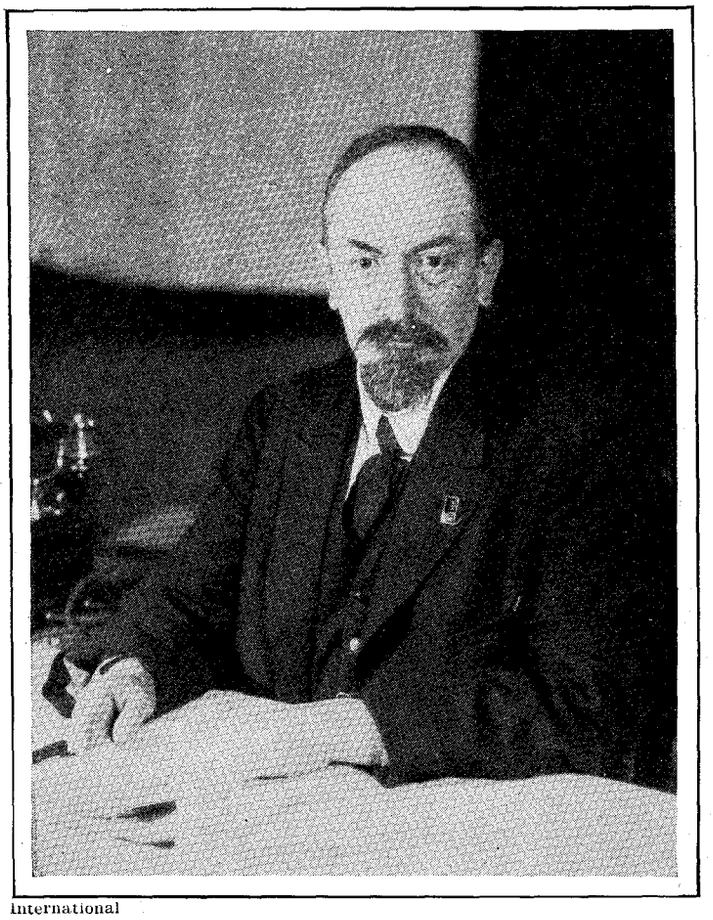
Wanted from Russia, Deeds not Words

RUSSIA'S Soviet Government, if it can be called a government, has a fairly good nose for publicity. Consequently, when President Coolidge in his Message suggested that the time might not be far off when Russia would have a government fit to be recognized by civilized nations, Tchitcherin, the Soviet Commissary for foreign affairs, made an appeal for recognition. News correspondents whose sympathy with the Russian Soviets apparently got the better of their capacity for getting information, rushed despatches out saying that President Coolidge is about to recognize the Soviet Government as not only the *de facto* but the *de jure* Government of Russia.

In this they were either assuming a sudden and unaccountable change in the policy of the American Government toward Russia or else they were allowing themselves to forget or ignore the conditions on which that policy was based. Repeatedly, under President Wilson and under President Harding, and again under President Coolidge, it has been declared in words that ought to be unmistakable that the United States does not propose to open negotiations with a Government which repudiates its obligations, which does not recognize the ordinary principles that underlie relations between civilized countries, and which makes a point of agitating in foreign countries against those countries' governments, and that recognition will not be justified until the Soviet Government changes, not the forms of its promises, but the substance of its deeds.

Those, therefore, who were somewhat disturbed by newspaper reports were promptly reassured when Mr. Hughes, apparently taking cognizance of these reports, although not specifically mentioning them, authorized the publication of instructions sent out by Zinoviev, President of the Communist Internationale and head of the Petrograd Soviet, to the Workers' Party of America in which the following statements were made: that the activity of Communist agitators in America "be directed among the workers of the large industries;" that "units of ten" must be organized; that "each of these units of ten must have their own fighting unit," which "must once a week be given instruction in shooting;" and that the Internationale hopes that the Workers' Party of America "will, step by step, conquer (embrace) the proletarian forces of America and in the not distant future raise the red flag over the White House."



International

M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister

Since the publication of these instructions on the authority of the United States Secretary of State, both Tchitcherin and Zinoviev have repudiated the document as a forgery; but it is said that the Department of Justice has assured the Department of State that the document is authentic.

If it is argued that the Communist Internationale is not the Soviet Government, but simply a party, it is sufficient to answer that, in the words of the editor of the official organ of the Soviet régime, "the close organic and spiritual connection between the Soviet Republic and the Communist Internationale cannot be doubted." The fact is that the Soviet Government is simply the Communist Internationale acting as the ruling power of Russia.

Of course this propaganda is not merely the dissemination of new and perhaps revolutionary political ideas, but is the incitement to a violent overthrow of the very Government with which the Soviet rulers pretend to want to negotiate. No self-respecting government can deal with a crowd which has as one of its aims the overthrow of that government. Moreover, even were this propaganda to cease there would be no justification for the recognition of the Soviet Government until it had acted in reversal of its former confiscatory policy and made restitution to the American citizens whom it had deprived of their rightful property, and until it otherwise had proved by its deeds its good intention. There is no

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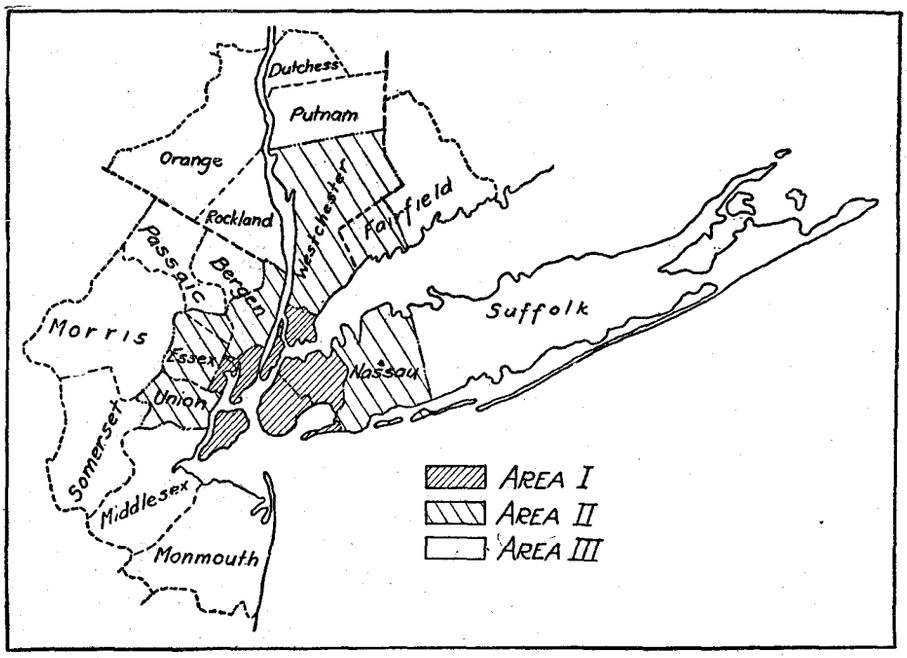

Map of the New York Region. The total area which is included for regional planning by the Committee on Plan of New York and its Environs, and for which population predictions are made in this report, embraces over 5,500 square miles and is part of three States—New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut

indication whatever that the American policy with regard to Russia has changed in the slightest.

A Plain Speaker About Budgets

GENERAL CHARLES G. DAWES'S reputation for plain and forcible speaking has brought him a new responsibility.

As Director of the Budget he succeeded in conveying to Congress and to the various departments and bureaus of the Government some ideas about economy and rational expenditures in public moneys which had never been heeded before. He spoke with the authority of public opinion, but with a vocabulary that was distinctly his own. It is said that a high Allied official remarked recently: "If General Dawes had the courage to shriek 'Hell and Maria' at the United States House of Representatives, he undoubtedly will have the courage to tell his European colleagues what he thinks of them in order to hasten Germany's house-cleaning. That is exactly what is needed, and General Dawes seems to be the man to do it."

It is partly because European countries look to America for help out of their difficulties, but partly, perhaps chiefly, because of General Dawes's quality which is thus described, that the Interallied Reparations Commission decided to offer to General Dawes the chairmanship of the committee charged with the study of means to balance Germany's budget and stabilize her currency.

To serve with General Dawes and with Mr. Oren D. Young, Britain has nominated Reginald McKenna, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we suppose that the Interallied Reparations Commission will name him as the British representative.

Can Germans Finance German Relief?

IT is most natural that Belgium, and particularly France, should be very reluctant to authorize any loan to Germany for the purchase of food for her population. As we explained last week, those who might make such a loan to Germany would have a claim on Germany's resources prior to France's claim for reparations. There is no reason for believing that the French would have the least disposition to obstruct such a loan if they believed that it would provide the only means for relieving distress in Germany; but they do not believe that it is the only means. They are convinced that in New York alone there is German capital ample to finance such purchase of food as Germany needs, and that there is no reason why the French should provide the means for getting this food so long as there are well-to-do Germans who have means in abundance which could be used for the purpose. If pressure is to be brought upon anybody to provide food needed, it ought to be exerted upon the Germans who can afford to provide funds.

How much German capital is in hiding in foreign countries nobody knows. It is estimated in Paris, according to Mr. Forrest, the New York "Tribune" correspondent there, that in New York alone the total of such German capital is a billion and a third dollars, and the total in the United States, Great Britain, Holland, and Switzerland is $3,700,000,000.

In many quarters there seems to be some doubt as to whether all this hidden capital or any great amount of it can be uncovered. One of the two committees of experts on which Americans will be seated will have the German concealed capital as the main subject of their investigation. The member of this committee from America (who, like the members of the other committee, will not represent the American Government officially) has not at this writing been named.

As the days go by the success of the French policy since the occupation of the Ruhr has become more and more evident.

How Much Can Cities Grow?

MOST American cities grew up by accident, rather than design. The plan of Major Pierre L'Enfant for our National capital is the sole instance of an American metropolis laid out from its inception with due regard for beauty, utility, and future expansion. Now, when it is all but too late, we are awaking to the necessity of forethought in these serious matters. Chicago had its World's Fair, its Daniel Burnham, and a progressive citizenry able to see the wisdom of drastic remodeling and vast expenditure. New York trusted to "muddling through."

But now a group of public-spirited men and women, stimulated and supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, have formed the "Committee on Plan of New York and Its Environs." The Committee has wisely approached its task from many aspects. Its plan will not fall into the slough of over-specialization. It has organized at least four fundamental inquiries: economic and industrial; physical; legal; and social, which includes health, housing, and recreation. It has mobilized the best brains of the country to carry out and advise upon these surveys.

Prerequisite to any effective plan, it was essential to know the approximate future population growth and distribution in the metropolitan area. To this end Dr. Raymond Pearl, Professor of

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Let the Issue Show Itself

(Much Ado About Nothing, Act III, Scene 2)

Marcus in the New York Times

A Real New England Dinner

Congress—"What? No pork?"

From Mrs. Zebulon Judd, New York City

Darling in the New York Tribune

THE LEAGUE AS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE
SNEAK UP ON HIM CAREFUL AND GIVE HIM BOTH BARRELS
HIRAM JOHNSON
THAT'S THE SAME BIRD I SHOT FOUR YEARS AGO
VOTER

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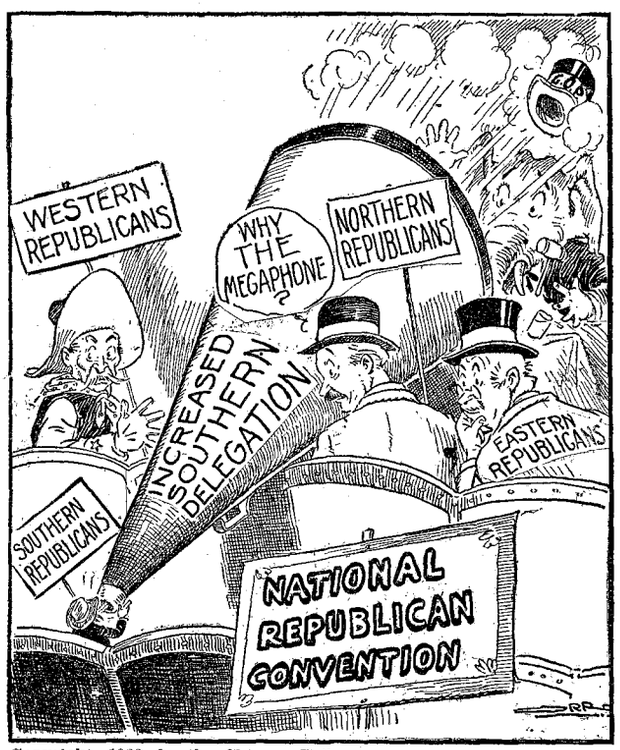
Our Worst Fears About the Scarcity of Game Are Being Realized

From J. A. MacArt, East Orange, N. J.

Orr in the Chicago Tribune



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The Voice of the South

From Elbert Nicholson, Sturgis, Mich.

Reynolds in the Tacoma Ledger

Two Fine Bearskin Rugs

From Mrs. George Marvin, Tacoma, Wash.

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Biometry and Vital Statistics at Johns Hopkins University, assisted by Dr. Lowell J. Reed, was employed to conduct a statistical research. Their report has just been made public. In the past half-century the study of population prediction has become almost an exact science. Various methods of forecasting are familiar to vital statisticians. Dr. Pearl and Dr. Reed have discovered that all normal populations upon a given area grow by a certain typical curve. In a new country or town population growth is slow. Presently it shoots up faster. Eventually it passes a point where the available sources of subsistence begin to fail, and its rate of growth reaches a maximum. The rate becomes progressively slower until the maximum population the area will support is reached. The curve is like a much-flattened letter S with upper and lower limits called "asymptotes." This curve holds for even a swarm of fruit flies feeding on bananas in a bottle. It has been verified in its upper portions for old countries like France, where the maximum rate has been long since passed, as well as comparatively young countries like the United States, which passed its "point of inflection" about 1914. The maximum population of the United States will be reached about the year 2100 and will fall just short of 200,000,000 by this formula. Of course it is commonly objected that new scientific and agricultural discoveries may indefinitely increase the possible maximum. But all these advances must have a finite limit, and the essential truth of Malthus's theory is as potent as ever.

The survey considers the New York region as a unit, including Long Island, Westchester, and other New York counties, a corner of Connecticut, and the satellite cities of northern New Jersey. Drs. Pearl and Reed find that the population of this entire area, now about 9,000,000, will reach its ultimate limit at about 35,000,000 in the year 2100. In 2000 A.D. it will be approximately 29,000,000, of which the present Greater City will contribute something less than 16,000,000. A secondary ring of counties will have a greater proportionate growth than the old city, while the outer circle will eventually contain about twelve per cent of the total. The age distribution in New York will remain nearly the same as at present. The Negro population will increase until it

Frank I. Cobb, of the New York "World"

reaches about five per cent of the total (it is now 2.7 per cent). The foreign-born population will touch its maximum in about eighty years, and will eventually fall off until it becomes even less than at present. It is not generally realized that the foreign-born form a lower percentage of New York's population to-day than they have at any time since 1860.

All of these fascinating predictions are of course subject to unforeseen factors, but in the main the observed facts confirm them with a margin of error no greater than usually obtains in the physical sciences. Independent researches by other experts are in close agreement. The compelling conclusion, not only for New York, but for all cities of any magnitude, is that the present generation must build for posterity. The old-fashioned gridiron street plan, the happy-go-lucky transit and food-distributing systems, the neglect to purchase generous park and open space when it is cheap, are anachronisms that must go.

Business Demands Reduced Taxes

THE chorus of approval of Secretary Mellon's plan for reducing taxes has made it almost a certainty that the reduction will come. One point of view that deserves attention is that of business men, who believe and say that a reduction of taxes will be a great boon to the business of the country at large. This is not so much because it will reduce the taxes paid by merchants and manufacturers on their business profits, as because the reduction will immensely increase the buying powers of the individual taxpayers in those very classes which Mr. Mellon proposes to benefit. That view was very well put by Mr. Lewis E. Pierson, President of the New York Merchants' Association, at a recent luncheon attended by five or six hundred people, almost all business men rather than financiers or lawyers. Mr. Pierson said: "High taxes have an inevitable tendency to slow down the wheels of industry and change a situation of prosperity and abundant work to hard times and unemployment." The applause with which this and other arguments for tax reduction were greeted by this large body of representative business men left no one in doubt as to their general belief in tax reduction.

Equally evident was it at this meeting that there was no belief that tax reduction could go hand in hand with the payment of four or five billion dollars to soldiers as a bonus. Mr. Pierson laid emphasis, not only on the ordinary arguments as to the financial impossibility of paying this enormous sum of bonus money and at the same time attempting to reduce taxes, but also on the fact that the bonus might very well be considered as false generosity to the veterans in that the veteran who has a taxable income would be taxed like every one else on that income, while those who have little or no taxable income would be very apt indeed to fall into danger of unemployment, since all history and political economy teach that over-taxation, such as would be involved in one form or another in the demand of the proposed bonus, invariably leads to unemployment and the distress of the worker. Mr. Pierson remarked on this last point:

> The veteran would ridicule any politician who offered to give him a bonus if at the same time it were confessed that the Government would take back from him in taxes what had been given him in adjusted compensation. He would hastily reject this two-edged gratuity if those who now offer him a bonus were candid enough to admit that it might possibly entail the loss of his employment.

A Great Editor

FRANK I. COBB, the leading editorial writer and conductor of the editorial page of the New York morning "World," died on December 21 at the age of 54. His name was probably not as well known to his readers as were the names of Greeley, Raymond, the elder

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Bennett, and Dana to theirs; but it would be hard to recall any editorial writer of our day who so well deserves to be included in the list of great American editors.

Not only did Mr. Cobb himself write short, concise, sometimes epigrammatic, editorials, each dealing with a single point of a subject and driving the nail home to the head, but he knew how to teach others to do that very same thing. It has become a common thing to hear journalists say, in substance: "You may like the 'World' or hate it, agree with it or oppose it, but you can't possibly ignore its editorial page or question its vigor."

Henry Watterson once called Cobb the strongest writer of the New York press; a New York paper goes further and declares, "He could say as much in three hundred words as Horace Greeley could say in a thousand, and he could say it better." Another newspaper truly remarks: "Evasion, straddling, pussyfooting, had no place in his editorial equipment."

It is noteworthy how, in the many tributes to this great but modest newspaper man, definite, specific praise for positive, individual qualities takes the place of the usual conventional expressions of esteem.

Personally Mr. Cobb avoided publicity, although there was at one time a report that President Wilson had offered him a Cabinet portfolio; he was a strong supporter of Mr. Wilson's policies and of the League of Nations and chairman of the publicity committee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

Mr. Curtis Buys the "Evening Post"

In his notice to the readers of the New York "Evening Post" that he has assumed the sole ownership and direction of that ancient and historic journal Mr. Cyrus H. K. Curtis remarks, inadvertently, we hope, or rather perhaps incompletely, that "I believe that there is room in this community for an evening newspaper which will devote itself exclusively to the business of telling the daily news promptly, accurately, intelligently, and readably without prejudice and without fear of the truth."

We are sure that the "Evening Post" will not devote itself exclusively to news. It has carried at its "masthead", for many years this sentence from its prospectus in its first issue, dated November 16, 1801: "The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals, and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature." Under Mr. Curtis's management this fine definition of a newspaper's function will doubtless continue to be followed.

The new owner and conductor of the New York "Evening Post" comes to his work with a varied and really remarkable experience as publisher. Those who have read Mr. Bok's "A Man from Maine" know how, with a pertinacity and quiet confidence that amount to a kind of silent genius, Mr. Curtis built up the "Ladies' Home Journal" from a very weak and tottering foundation into a superb property and with a result in contents and form that obviously is attractive to a vast number of American women; they know also how this was followed by his equally brilliant success in building up the "Saturday Evening Post." To this Mr. Curtis has added the experience of newspaper publisher in conducting the Philadelphia "Public Ledger." His ability and calm common sense will doubtless be of value to his new undertaking.

The traditions and history of the "Evening Post" run back to Alexander Hamilton, by whom it was founded in the year 1801. It has had many able editors, most famous of whom of course was William Cullen Bryant. It has had, especially in late years, a somewhat unstable or shifting course, and it was a relief to many of its admirers when its possession passed in 1918 from Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, whose position in regard to war questions was quite unacceptable to patriotic Americans generally. At that time the management and control came into the hands of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of the great Morgan banking firm; later it was transferred to a syndicate of about thirty persons, including many people of prominence in political, commercial, literary, or philanthropic circles.

From the beginning the "Evening Post" has always been pre-eminently a journal of culture quite as much as of politics. It reached its culmination as a paper of fighting force in public affairs during the brilliant editorship of Mr. E. L. Godkin, whose name, with that of Bryant's, will no doubt continue long to be associated with that of this old and fine New York newspaper.

Another King in Exile

By what might be called a peaceful revolution, George II, King of the Greeks, has been politely exiled from the country, with his Queen, formerly Princess Elizabeth of Rumania. The Government urgently suggested to their royalties that it might be advisable for them to absent themselves from Greece

(C) Keystone

The deposed monarchs of Greece, King George II and Queen Elizabeth

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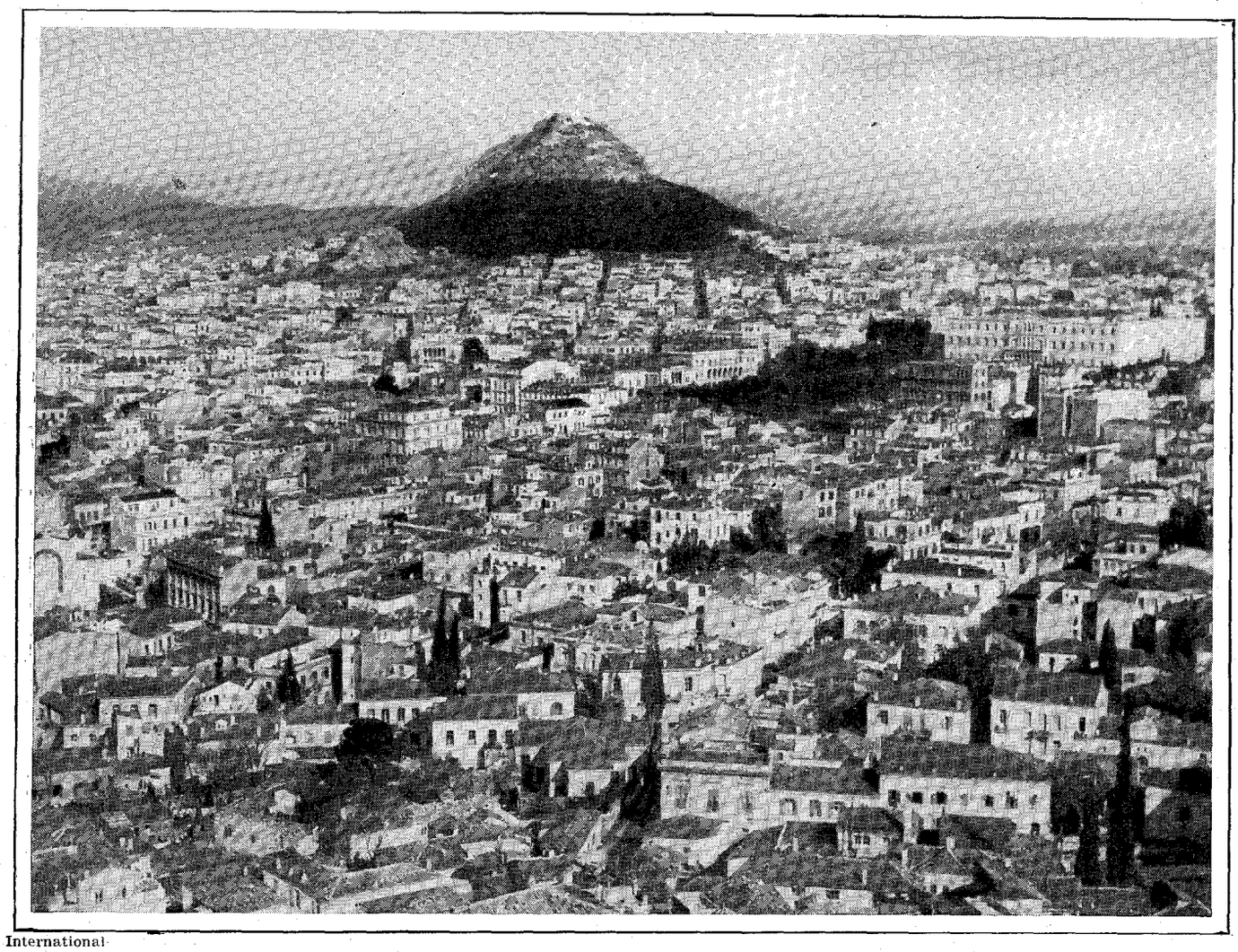

International

Athens, the heart of a troubled country

while the National Assembly should debate and determine upon "the régime best befitting the country." To make the way pleasant, the King received for his traveling expenses the round sum of a million drachmas and is to go on the civil pension list for a million and a half drachmas. Millions in our day, however, are not exactly what they sound like, for the present value of a million drachmas in good American gold is $18,000.

Readers will remember that the King thus banished is the son of King Constantine and was placed on the throne when Constantine abdicated. There does not seem to be any strong personal hostility toward King George. His expulsion is due to the continual strengthening of the antagonism aroused through the part taken by this dynasty in the folly and weakness mingled with greed and fierceness which brought about Greece's humiliating defeat by the Turks and her very considerable loss of territory and people and the short but bloody revolution which preceded the rather lukewarm acceptance of George as king.

Inevitably the best sentiment in Greece under this condition of affairs has turned to Veniselos, and again he has been urged to take the lead in political and governmental affairs in Greece. He has not yet signified his intentions, but there certainly seems to be no better or more hopeful outlook for Greece than that a constitutional and democratic form of government, whether nominally headed by a king or not, should be formed and made secure. The world outside of Greece, as well as the best and most moderate men in Greece itself, firmly believe that such a government can best be instituted under the leadership of the one wise and sane statesman who since the outbreak of the Great War has appeared on the Greek horizon. It is encouraging to note that Admiral Coundouriotes, who has been selected as temporary regent for Greece, is believed to have the confidence of Veniselos, who consulted him in the past in the dispute that led to the break between Veniselos and Constantine and ultimately to Constantine's fall.

An Exclusive Gospel

FROM very early days, long before the Nativity which Christendom has been celebrating, the one message of religion that has brought hope to the world is the message that between men and their God the only obstacle is the will to do evil and the only condition of union between God and men is men's will to do right. The water of life is free to every one who thirsts. Righteousness shall be given to every one who hungers for it. It was an old prophet long before the Christian era who said "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters." And it was Jesus himself who said, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled."

Again and again this news of hope has been proclaimed. If there is one duty that is laid upon the Church, it is the duty of proclaiming this good news. "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" "Wash

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you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." This same message was the burden of such parables as the Prodigal Son, the Last Judgment, and the Two Sons. If there is one message that is the same from the beginning to the end of the Bible, it is that men who seek God shall find him; that no form of words, no manner of ceremony, is of any use that does not help man in his seeking; and that every form of word and every ceremony is worse than useless that hinders him; that the letter killeth, while the spirit giveth life.

From time to time, however, there arises in the Church a movement on the part of those who are in authority to reverse this message and to insist that it is some form of words or ceremonial that counts, that it is not those who do the will of the Father who should be received into the Church, but those who say "Lord, Lord!" This is the real issue that has been raised by those who call themselves Fundamentalists and by the Episcopal Bishops' Pastoral Letter. It is not an invitation, but a pronouncement of exclusion, that they proclaim. It is not good news at all.

In these days an increasing number of intelligent and informed people find it impossible to think of the universe as subject to any kind of whim, whether it be the whim of chance or the whim of Deity. There was a time when men saw in every phenomenon the intervention of some whimsical will. Every stone or tree or waterfall was an embodied spirit that could act lawlessly. Everything that happened could be accounted for by some special intervention. To-day there are people who still conceive of the world as not essentially different from the world as it appeared to primitive man. It is not hard for such people to think of God as upsetting the order of nature, for God's Almightiness means to them God's capacity to indulge whatever impulse occurs to him. There are other people, however, who cannot think of God in this way. They do not deny that God is Almighty; but they do deny that certain acts ascribed to God are to them thinkable. They can put themselves, perhaps, into the place of the ancient Greeks and can people the world by imagination with a multitude of gods; but they find it impossible to think of the world as it is as a world of warring and disputatious deities, and equally impossible for them to think of the God of this universe as a lawless God, as at war with his own mind, as violating what seems to them his own nature.

The question which the Fundamentalists and the Pastoral Letter of the Bishops have raised is whether such people, who refuse to pretend to themselves or to others that they think something that is to themselves unthinkable, shall be warned away from the Church. Shall they be told that the Church is merely a club, a privately controlled organization, of those who consider certain forms of words or certain ceremonials as essential? Shall they be told that the invitation to those who thirst for righteousness, to those who want to turn away from what is evil to what is good, to those who really seek to make the Infinite God their Great Companion, is not to be taken seriously? Are they to be told that what matters is not whether they seek to have the spirit of God incarnate in them, but whether they shall have a certain theory about the Incarnation? Mr. Wheeler, whose article on the Bishops' Pastoral Letter we print on another page, finds it easy to believe certain facts because people have believed them for two thousand years; but not every one reasons as Mr. Wheeler does. Shall every one who does not reason as Mr. Wheeler reasons or as a particular group of bishops reason or as the Fundamentalists reason be told that the Church does not want them until they substitute somebody else's reason for their own? Shall those who see in the Creeds something different from what the bishops see, or what the Fundamentalists see, or what Mr. Wheeler sees, be told that they are dishonest in reciting them as symbols of their faith, simply because the bishops and the Fundamentalists and Mr. Wheeler cannot understand how they can honestly recite them? Shall those who think that all evolution is divine evolution, that it is the way in which God works in his world, be told that they must abandon their manner of thinking before they can have any part and place in the Church, no matter how they may welcome the good news that has been proclaimed and how willingly they admit its one condition of turning from evil to good?

If the Church or any part of the Church really takes this position, it is preaching an exclusive gospel; it is not freeing the spirit, but trying to shackle the mind, and it will lose its leadership because it will have lost its faith.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

The Russian Church and the Soviets

ELSEWHERE we print an article from Dr. Hartman, editor of "Zion's Herald," presenting his view of the present situation between the "Living Church" of Russia, the Soviets, and Western Protestantism. Dr. Hartman was with Bishop Blake of the American Methodist Church in Russia at the time when the latter conditionally pledged $50,000 toward helping certain needs of the Living Church, an offer that the Mission Board of the Methodist Church has, rightly, we think, declined to confirm. Bishop Blake and Dr. Hartman believe that the hope of Russian religion is in the so-called Living Church and that foreign aid might help to lead it toward evangelical Protestantism and away from Roman Catholicism, the danger of which they seem to think imminent and lamentable.

The same reasons that deter Americans from active interference in political questions in Russia should deter them from taking sides in church organization questions. We have a right to demand respect and safety for American religious missions in Russia, but not to take part in ecclesiastical quarrels. Just as in their attitude toward her Red Government there are many thousands of Russians who abhor the tyrannical theories of the Soviets and the brutality of their crimes toward the people yet outwardly conform to the Soviet's behests because they believe that revolution is impossible and the only hope is in gradual transformation, so there are evidently in this church dispute many who yield to Soviet supremacy over this "reformed" Orthodox Church because martyrdom and open rebellion are now of no avail. They may be right or they may be wrong; but their problem is assuredly not one for Americans to solve.

Since we wrote last April of the "Reds' War Against Religion" there has been a change in the attitude of the Soviets. Up to that time they had openly derided and persecuted the religious of all kinds—Roman Catholics, Orthodox priests and

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bishops, and Jews. The Soviets and the powerful and dominant Communist Party were openly atheistic and seemed bent on extinction of the churches. The Roman Catholic prelate Butchkavitch and the Orthodox Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd were executed; many priests were killed or imprisoned, the Patriarch Tikhon was degraded and unfrocked; scores of priests were imprisoned and persecuted; plays and pageants were encouraged ridiculing and insulting religion. A New York "Herald" correspondent declared that "more than a thousand priests have been executed within five years." The Soviets refused to allow the Orthodox Church to raise famine relief, and, when it freely offered its non-consecrated treasures for relief, demanded that consecrated vessels also be given up and called the refusal a crime. Bishop Blake himself in a published statement has said of this period:

> It should also be remembered that the Soviet leaders are frankly atheistic. They regard religion as a product of superstition and look upon the Church as an enemy of intellectual and social progress. It is the institution the Soviets fear most, and the one of which they have most reason to be afraid. At the beginning they took an attitude of hostility and oppression towards the Church. Priests who were suspected of counter-revolutionary activities or sympathies were often ruthlessly and brutally dealt with. The oppressive measures of the Government went far beyond the necessities of its own safety, and the Church suffered far beyond its deserts. It is one of those sad and brutal chapters that are written in every revolution.

But it is claimed that the leopard has changed its spots, the Soviets their hatred of religion. We beg to doubt it. What happened was that the Soviets found that the common people of Russia still loved their ancient Church, even though it had been in the past superstitious and possibly corrupt. The Soviets changed tactics; they released Tikhon without trial, and were evidently repaid by him with humiliating promises to be friendly toward the Living Church, as they called the new organization.

The All-Russian Council of the Orthodox Church said: "The Sobor (Council) sees in the Soviet Government the leader of the world to brotherhood, equality, and peace between nations." Meanwhile religious rites for the dying in hospitals are prohibited because the hospitals belong to a non-religious state! The Living Church leaders, to all appearances, are simply trying to get along comfortably with the Reds!

Public opinion in Russia may ultimately force the Soviets to adopt decent and respectful treatment of religion in Russia, but their past conduct has shown hatred of all religion and they will do no more than they have to do. Opportunists in Russia may possibly be wise in supporting the Living Church, even if it is in a large measure the creature of the Reds. But it is evident that very many Russian Christians more than distrust a Church so established and so influenced. Cajolery and favoritism have been more effective than public persecution in giving the Soviet control of the Church machinery. It remains to be seen how long that control may endure.

In the meantime Protestants in America and elsewhere should flatly refuse to help on in its ecclesiastical terrorism a Government that licenses and encourages publication of the notorious Communist Party periodical entitled "Without God," which is described by the Moscow "Ivestia" (official organ of the Soviet régime) as "particularly important for the anti-religious propaganda."

Mr. Ford's Retirement

NOTHING that has happened in the pre-nomination Presidential campaign has caused such a sensation as the announcement by Henry Ford, one of the most prominent candidates for the Presidential nomination, that he favors the candidacy of President Coolidge.

The sensation is the greater because the announcement comes from a man whose name has been presented to the Democratic primaries and is made on behalf of a candidate for the Republican nomination.

Two most unworthy motives have been ascribed to Mr. Ford in making this statement. It has been said that he has bartered his candidacy for favorable action on his proposal to buy from the Government the great water power at Muscle Shoals. It has also been said that he has retired in favor of Mr. Coolidge because he expects to get from the Coolidge Administration a large reduction in his taxes. Those who make such charges have issued slanders, not only against Mr. Ford, but against the President of the United States. Each charge implies that Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Ford are both men who are willing to use the faith of their supporters and the public interest as mere commodities to exchange in a deal for personal or political advantage. Such charges made without a scintilla of evidence reflect upon neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Coolidge, but upon those who make them. To say that Mr. Ford is mistaken in his judgment of Mr. Coolidge and that Mr. Coolidge is mistaken in favoring a policy which would intrust a great natural resource to Mr. Ford is one thing; but to say that either is willing to make bargains of such a nature for the sake of financial or economic or political reward is quite another.

Those who are willing to believe without evidence such things of their fellow-men, whether those fellow-men are eminent or obscure, reveal only the motives that lurk in their own hearts. One of the evils against which democracies must struggle is the evil of substituting personal accusations of this sort for arguments. Those who have followed Mr. Ford's career and who have watched his course in industrial and in political affairs ought not to have been greatly surprised by his announcement. Mr. Ford's mind is not a political mind. If we may believe those who have reported his views, Mr. Ford knows this as well as any one else. He is impatient of the restraints of political office and political procedure. He is not disposed to defer his own decisions to the judgment of the mass of the people. He thinks, and sometimes with good reason, that he knows better what most of the people want than the people do themselves. He foresaw the demand for a cheap automobile before that demand existed. He believes he foresees the requirements of agriculture while men engaged in agriculture themselves are not aware of them. He has been a leader, but not a political leader. He is not primarily interested in questions of governmental policy. He has frankly said that he is not the sort of man who would fit well into the Presidential office. In an interview published in The Outlook last May the question was put to him, "Can't we get you to become our Chief Executive and tidy things up for us?" And he answered, "Do you see that rug there? I wouldn't step as far as from here to that rug to be the King of England." And he added to confirm his disinclination for political office, "I have the biggest job on earth as it is."

What effect Mr. Ford's retirement from the Presidential campaign will have

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is a matter of surmise; but the reason for it can be found in the fact that Mr. Ford understands his own function in life better than many of his supporters.

Lo, the Poor Farmer!

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT
Contributing Editor of The Outlook

THE slogan of the high protectionists twenty or twenty-five years ago used to be the phrase, "The full dinner-pail." The theory was that if we laid heavy duties on imported manufactures we should have more mills; if we had more mills, we should have more wages; and if we had more wages, we should have more prosperity. The mistake was in thinking that wages fill the dinner-pail. They do not. It is food that fills it. Man cannot eat cotton cloth, or woolen carpets, or steel rails, or nuts and bolts, or two-by-four joists, or watches and clocks, or electric lamps, or radio sets, or automobiles. He eats wheat and corn and cabbages and potatoes and beef and mutton and pork and poultry and eggs and fruit. They are what make the full dinner-pail.

From the mistaken notion that blast-furnaces and cotton spindles are the measures of prosperity Americans have been coming slowly but steadily to the conviction that fertile and productive farms are the real measure of our National welfare; that of the four great essentials of civilized life—food, clothing, shelter, and transportation—food is the first to be considered. Man can shelter himself in caves, clothe himself in bark, and transport himself on his own feet if he has food; but he cannot do even these three elementary things unless he eats. In other words, mill-owners and bankers and merchants are thinking to-day as they never have thought before that the United States is primarily an agricultural country. Farmers are beginning to think so too.

This growing realization of the over-emphasis which, since the Civil War, the American people have laid upon manufactures is doubtless the fundamental reason for the wave of dissatisfaction and unrest which is sweeping over the great agricultural States of the Union. The so-called farm bloc in Congress is simply a vocal expression of this dissatisfaction. The real hope of the farmer, however, lies, not in the United States Treasury, but in the fact that the wisest and most far-seeing industrialists and financiers are actively and earnestly joining in the "back to the farm" movement—a movement not to the old hit-or-miss farming, typified by Millet's famous picture of "The Man With the Hoe," but to "group settlements which result in the nearness of neighbors, good schools, and social meetings, and which take away the lonesomeness and isolation of the usual pioneer life."

The foregoing quotation is made from a notable report of the South Carolina Land Settlement Commission to Governor McLeod, of that State. In a letter inclosing the report the chairman of this Commission, ex-Governor Richard I. Manning, one of the foremost citizens of the South, writes to me as follows:

> The South is developing in a satisfactory way along industrial lines. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of her agricultural interests. Tenancy is increasing; rural people are moving into the industrial centers. To meet this situation our Commission feels that we must have a larger rural citizenship of home-owners. It is to this end we are working. As our condition is one that confronts most sections of our country, I am hoping that you can pass this report, or some part of it, on to the public with such statements as you see fit to make.

Reports of this kind generally give me a tired feeling. I receive many of them. They propose all kinds of legislative and political panaceas, most of which appear on their face to be hopeless or impractical. But I have such a high regard for Governor Manning, whose personality is as delightful as his mind is wise, that with a sigh I resolved to read the report, although it consists of twenty-two typewritten pages. Before I had finished the third page, however, I found that I needed no personal motive to urge me on. It not only contains interesting facts, but is written in an interesting fashion. I wish it could be put into the hands of every man and woman who believes with the old Roman Marcus Porcius Cato that "it is from the tillers of the soil that spring the best citizens, the stanchest soldiers; and theirs are the enduring rewards which are most grateful and least envied; such as devote themselves to that pursuit are least of all men given to evil counsels." For this definition of the farmer, translated from Cato's "De Agricultura," I am indebted to another Southerner, Mr. Fairfax Harrison, President of the Southern Railway Company.

The South Carolina Land Settlement Commission, of which Governor Manning is chairman, grew out of a conference of citizens held in Columbia early this year. In it there were college professors, newspaper men, bankers, cotton planters and manufacturers, merchants, and railway representatives. The Commission not only studied conditions in South Carolina, but last summer made a journey through Utah, California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin for the purpose of studying at first hand plans for the promotion of land settlement. As to conditions in South Carolina the Commission reports that eight hundred thousand acres of cultivated land have been abandoned in the last three years. "Nine thousand white families have moved to the cotton-mills and lumber camps during the last two years." But the case is not hopeless:

> After traveling through twenty States of the Union, the Commission returned home with a greater respect for the potential power of South Carolina's resources. We understand better than we ever did before what a mistake thousands of farmers of the Western States are continually making when they move to the treeless plains of the Northwest, "where they must pay six hundred miles of freight on a chip that they want to throw at a bird, and then must pay for a post to hold the bird up while they throw the chip." Everything that goes to make civilization must be carted until the soil can pay tribute—food, clothing, building material, et cetera, while in South Carolina all these things are at our doors. The great difficulty is to make the outside world believe it. This can never be done except through organized effort on the part of the State, with the enactment of the necessary legislation.

Let no reader make the mistake of supposing that the Commission's report is merely propaganda for booming real estate. It is a careful study of the farm colonization plans successfully carried on in California, Wisconsin, and North Carolina, and praises the efforts which have been made in these States to encourage farming enterprises that shall be both commercially profitable and socially agreeable.

Under the auspices of a land coloniza-

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tion organization in Wisconsin, carried on by private enterprise but supervised and indorsed by the State, "throughout a fifty-thousand-acre tract of former timber land roads have been made, schoolhouses and community halls erected, rural telephone lines put up, rural routes established, several hundred farm homes have been constructed, thousands of acres of land have been put under cultivation, hundreds of dairy cows and other live stock have been brought in, and pure seed introduced." The same sort of farm development has been successfully undertaken in North Carolina.

The Commission does not believe that the other interests of the State should be taxed to give the farmer anything, but that the credit of the State should be employed for the establishment of self-supporting colonies which shall in due time pay back the loans with interest. This method has been adopted successfully in various European countries. Denmark, for example, one of the most prosperous agricultural countries in Europe, where the co-operative method of marketing farm produce has been highly developed, loans money to farm colonists at three to four per cent interest and gives the borrower sixty-five years to repay the loans in partial payments.

Finally, the Commission outlines a plan of legislation by which the State may enter upon the work of land settlement and colonization. Since I am a taxpayer, one feature of the plan caught my eye instantly. It is proposed that the work of State colonization shall be administered by a board of five directors, "whose term of office shall range from two to ten years from the date of appointment by the Governor, and who shall not receive salary or compensation of any kind other than actual traveling expenses when attending a meeting of the directors."

In the great public school system of our country we have boards of trustees who serve for the public good without pay. Is it, therefore, visionary to hope that the time may come when able men and women will take hold of the work of farm settlement and colonization in the same civic spirit which has built up our public schools? The report of the South Carolina Commission points out the way in which this work may be done, not as a philanthropy, but as a business basic to our National life.

The A B C of European Problems

Special Correspondence

By WILLIAM C. GREGG

MR. GREGG'S correspondence has frequently appeared in The Outlook. It always arrests attention by its terse forcefulness. It presents pictures of conditions in broad outlines. In sending this correspondence to us Mr. Gregg writes: "I think all my statements are arguable. At least it isthe best I can do after two and a half months' observation."

THE EDITORS.

IT is easy to say what other people should do. We Americans, however, are sufficiently detached really to understand some European errors—it is true, for instance, that:

(*a*) Governments must raise by taxes the money needed for running expenses. If they do not, they menace the peace and order of the world, and if they are called democracies they had better be called something else.

(*b*) Germany must abandon her intrigue and pay a fair price. Least touched by war, she has been least taxed in peace. The fires of hate which she keeps burning are signals of warning to those she has wronged. If Germany did not exist, there would be no world problem. Justice alone will quiet Europe. There has been no such opportunity for justice in the history of man, for there is no nation, at present, strong enough to resist it.

(*c*) Britain must play the European diplomatic game, not in her old jealous, trouble-making, war-making way, but as she plays golf and tennis—cleanly. Internationally she plays cards as a professional, and we know what that means.

(*d*) Europe should stop charging New York with depressing its exchange. The ignorant are led to believe it, but the intelligent classes know that the printing-press is the criminal. They should stop printing ciphers on their paper money.

They should also stop saying, "America has all the gold of the world." This is not true by more than half, and would be still less true were they to quit sending their gold to us for safe-keeping.

(*e*) Human beings everywhere would do well to modify their selfishness. All are striving for more at the expense of others. There is not a class, not a nation, which would be content with pre-war conditions if they were restored. They magnify the advantages of others and their own troubles. As a matter of fact, they are all quite well clothed, fed, and housed. The seeming exceptions do not bear impartial investigation. When you come to think about it, why is there such a European "housing problem"? It is not because of the increase of population since 1914, but because of increased *demand*. People are not content to live as they did before the war.

(*f*) General Smuts and Lloyd George continually harp on "American participation in world affairs." How tiresome! We have loaned billions since the war, and will continue to loan, no doubt; but the more they talk, the less valuable the security seems, and certainly the less appealing is the charity, for they couple a plea for Europe with a kick at France—an urge for stability with a bouquet to those who are the apostles of chaos.

(*g*) If I may say in an academic way that which our State Department might otherwise disapprove, I do not think the United States should press the collection of our war debts.

There is much individual wealth and personal extravagance in the debtor countries, but if these governments don't or can't reach them with their taxes it will be impossible for us to do so. I suggest that the increased taxation of the present profiteers is Europe's way out of her debauch of paper inflation and her way to balance her budgets. I do not propose the canceling of their war debts to us. They cannot, however, pay now or in the next decade without our loaning the money back again to them. It would be better for us not to collect than, having collected, both to spend it at home on bonuses and such, and, under the clamor of Americans for "world mar-

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ets," to lend it again to Europe. Our ances are not beyond the reach of ell-meaning maniacs.

These debtor countries should sell us eir West India islands and some of eir art treasures.

Both England and France have islands hich are not income-producers to them, id probably would not be to us. But eir transfer to us would be substantial nsiderations, which should not cause ss of pride any more than our purase of Alaska from Russia or the Virn Islands from Denmark. But if, perchance, pride is involved, there will be a loss of that, anyway, or of something worse, before those billions of principal and billions of interest are paid.

Belgium and Italy could spare us ten per cent of their art treasures—nay, five per cent would probably satisfy us. The city of Munich (Germany) alone has as many art treasures as are to be found in all the public galleries of the United States together. Germany and Austria have accepted our charity, but, as far as I know, no old masters or historic tapestries have been taken from their crowded galleries and sent to us with their compliments.

The collection of these debts insures our interest in Europe for many years to come. Lloyd George and General Smuts should not worry. But the collection is fraught with perils to Europe and perils to us. It is a subject that must have broader and wiser consideration than it has yet had. We cannot collect, and we cannot forgive. It therefore becomes the world's greatest economic problem, transcending the question of how much Germany shall pay and when.

The Bishops' Pastoral Letter

By Everett P. Wheeler

When the Bishops of the Episcopal Church, assembled at Dallas, Texas, in November, issued a pastoral letter affirming as facts the statements made in the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, and declared it irreconcilable with the vows of a minister of their Church to deny or suggest doubt as to these facts, they started a controversy which has extended far beyond the confines of their own communion. The center of the controversy is in the following paragraph from the letter:

> To deny, or to treat as immaterial, belief in the Creed in which at every regular Service of the Church both Minister and people profess to believe, is to trifle with words and cannot but expose us to the suspicion and the danger of dishonesty and unreality. Honesty in the use of language—to say what we mean and to mean what we say—is not least important with regard to religious language (and especially in our approach to Almighty God), however imperfect to express divine realities we may recognize human words to be. To explain away the statement, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary," as if it referred to a birth in the ordinary way, of two human parents, under perhaps exceptionally holy conditions, is plainly an abuse of language. An ordinary birth could not have been so described, nor can the words of the Creed fairly be so understood.

An editorial on this subject is to be found on page ten.—The Editors.

THIS letter has been criticised by some who think it narrow and restrictive; but does not this iticism arise from the failure to appreite the actual position? The Church which these bishops are officers has a eed which is taught to all its children d in which, before confirmation, they clare their belief. All the ministers of s Church in like manner at their lination declare a like belief.

As Bishop Manning well said in his mon at the ordination of Bishop Freen, we do not teach a dogma, but a :. It is because this Creed embodies story of the life of Christ as we perve it that we thus declare our belief.

The first and fundamental principle in s life is the declaration, "I believe in od the Father Almighty." Do we ully believe in him, that he is the ther and that he is almighty? There e those whose conception of God is of great power and, it may be, of an unangeable law. But the Christian idea God as it is taught in the New Testaent and as we conceive and apprehend it is of a personal Father with whom the human being can have a relation like that which a human child holds to his father, a relation of love and confidence and devotion. But we also believe that this Father is almighty. If he is a person and if he is almighty, why should we have any difficulty in believing any of the wonderful things which we are taught in the New Testament he did? Why should it be hard for us to believe that in the divine person of his Son he became incarnate in human form? Why should we find it hard to believe that this incarnation took place directly by the will of the Almighty Father? The beginning of all human life is wonderful and divine; but why should it be difficult to believe that in this particular case, this unique incarnation, there should have been a special creation by the Almighty Father? The same reasoning applies to the actual fact of the Resurrection. Of this no doubt there is much more testimony and far more extended preaching. In the days of St. Paul, as in our time, there were those who found it hard to believe that Christ had actually risen from the dead, but that did not stop St. Paul from preaching this great truth. The power of that truth and of the eternal life which it expressed brought in those days and has continually brought from age to age many souls to have this faith in Christ and the power of his resurrection, which St. John tells us is "the victory that overcometh the world." It does enable man, who himself is naturally subject to the current way in which people act and think in this world, to lead a higher and spiritual life. In this case, as in the other, why should we doubt the fact? And if we do not doubt it, why is it not the duty of the bishops and teachers of the Church to express their faith distinctly and do their utmost to make known to men that they believe firmly in these spiritual realities which men are tempted to doubt?

But there is another point in this Creed which the bishops expressed in their letter and which is often overlooked. We believe in "the holy Catholic Church." We believe that there is a

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"blessed company of all faithful people," as it is called in the Episcopal Communion service, which is from age to age enlightened by the Holy Spirit. No doubt this Church is not, and has not been, united as it should be, but that is because it is human. Still, we do believe that there is such a Church, that it is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and that its teaching, therefore, is entitled to respect and consideration. Now, we know historically that for many centuries this Church has taught with practical unanimity the two great facts of the Virgin Birth—that is to say, the incarnation of the divine in human form—and the actual Resurrection. Not only have these truths been taught, but they have been commemorated by anniversary celebrations from year to year. The continuance of such anniversary celebrations for centuries by the whole Church is the strongest possible evidence, after the lapse of centuries, of the actual fact. Take, for example, two of the great events in American history, the birth of Washington and the Declaration of Independence. No person is now living who was present on either occasion or ever saw any one who was present. It is true that there are books which record these events, but these books are not as widely read or as well known as the Gospels which record the birth and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The fact that we do commemorate from year to year by National celebrations these events is convincing to us of their truth. But that celebration is less general than the celebration by the Christian Church throughout the world of the festivals of the Annunciation and of Easter. We have pictures in poetry and in art of the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary and of the appearance of Christ after his resurrection to the Marys who came to the tomb. To many spiritual souls these pictures are realities. There is such a thing as spiritual perception: it is a great reality. Spiritual perception is as real and reliable as the perception of the senses—in fact, being on a higher plane, it is really more reliable.

So, then, we may see, not only by record of books, but by the continued observance of the Church through the ages and by the spiritual perception of the believer, how these great facts declared in the Creed are made manifest. They are a great source of comfort and strength to believing souls. All this being true, why is it not the duty of the bishops to declare their conviction of the truth? They make no anathema against those to whom it has not yet been given to perceive these truths. The whole temper of their pastoral letter is really that of the Apostle: "If in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even thi unto you."

The test of the whole is really this. A Yale professor has recently said: "Ever religion is a product of human evolutio and has been conditioned by social en vironment," and again he speaks of "thi shell of religion." The Christian idea so far as Christianity is concerned, i exactly the reverse. According to th Christian Scriptures and the uniform teaching of the Christian Church, Chris tianity is not a product of human evolu tion; it is a divine revelation. It is not mere shell that envelops the human be ing; it is life. That is what Christ saic "The words that I speak unto you, the are spirit and they are life." He spoke o himself as "the way, the truth, and th life." Believing this, it is the duty o Christians gladly to receive this divin revelation and to make it an essentia part of their lives. If we do this, w shall find the truth of the promise: "I any man willeth to do his will, he sha know of the doctrine." It is not the wil ing of the human will, it is not huma evolution; and so we come back again t the words of Christ, which are just a much foolishness to the mere intellect a they were to the Greeks, which are neve theless eternally true: "Whosoever sha not receive the kingdom of God as a litt child, he shall in no wise enter therein."

Two Germanys

Editorial Correspondence from Saarbrücken

By ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

I HAVE been in two Germanys—along the Ruhr and along the Saar (or, as it is called in French, Sarre). In the district to the north, as in this to the south, I have been struck by compactness—the closeness with which mines, factories, dwellings, schools, churches, town halls, crowd upon one another. Each district's whole existence depends on one industry—coal.

Yet there are differences. While busy, smoky Essen and busy, smoky Saarbrücken (Sarrebruck), the chief towns of the respective territories, seem both only smaller Pittsburghs, the Saarbrücken people show more snap, more touch-and-go, than do those of the towns along the Ruhr, or even those of the cities along the Rhine. Here you see no dawdlers or loafers, no men out of work, no apprehensive folk standing about in gloomy groups waiting for something to turn up. In *all* the shops there are plenty of customers, *buying*.

Along the Ruhr and the Rhine there are popular discontent and frequent explosion of party feeling. On the contrary, here in Saarbrücken, the German police seem to have the municipal situation well in hand. I see no street rows or fighting or pillaging.

All this, however, does not prevent the Saar workmen from grumbling that his wages have not increased with the cost of living. Here, as everywhere, the cost of living has advanced, but not nearly as alarmingly as along the Ruhr and the Rhine. Yet the Saar district cannot feed itself. It has food enough for only forty days. It must import from its neighbors. Germany can no longer lend it anything. So it now relies on France and the Low Countries.

The Saar workman is far better off than he would be if he were in Germany. He would not gain much in proportion by exchanging his wages and expenses for even those in our own land. Not only is his cost of living far less than in Ge many, he gets paid in francs, not mark that is, in a coin not forever meltir away and getting completely lost in tl quicksands.

Moreover, he benefits governmental by the fact that the French mine oper tors in the Saar actually pay taxes. T German mine operators in the Ruhr ha avoided paying any taxes at all. This one of their ways to force the Ber Government into a bogus bankruptcy.

Yet the Saar workman can be a strik if necessary. A recent strike lasted ju one hundred days and cost about a bi ion francs. In glaring contrast wi similar events in the Ruhr, the autho ties here controlled the situation witho the troops ever coming into direct conta with the population in general. Tl strike actually ran its course witho bloodshed or imprisonment or judici proceedings. Such a condition speal volumes for a supposedly "enslaved pe

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le," as the Germans would have us be-
eve.

Why "enslaved"? The framers of the
ersailles Treaty wanted to make good
e loss of the coal mines in the north
f France, destroyed by the Germans, by
iving to France the ownership of the
aar mines, and, at the end of a fifteen-
ear period, the advantage of a popular
ote—a plebiscite—to determine under
hat sovereignty the Sarrois would
oose to live. If the plebiscite were to
in favor of Germany, she would then
ave the right to buy back the mines.
ccording to the Treaty, therefore, a new
overnment for the Saar, under the
eague of Nations, must needs be set up,
ermany renouncing her rights in favor
the League, as trustee for the new
overnment. The Treaty provided that
is Government should be administered
a Commission, representing the
eague Council and responsible only to
; further, that this Commission should
nsist of five members, chosen by the
ouncil—a representative from the Saar,
e from France, and three from coun-
es other than France or Germany.
epresentatives from Canada, Belgium,
d Denmark were chosen. The Com-
ission members in no way represent
eir respective Governments and are re-
onsible to the Council only as indi-
duals. Any differences among the five
ve been adjusted by their majority
te. Finally, it was provided that this
verning Commission—in other words,
e Government—should have all the
eceding German Government's powers;
at in introducing modifications (the
position of taxes, for example) the
mmission should decide after consult-
; the elected representatives of the
abitants of the region; and, in espe-
l, in fixing labor conditions the Com-
ssion must consider the wishes of the
al labor organizations. Though the
vernment may not possibly be suffi-
ntly democratic, the whole system of
rman administration of civil and crim-
l law is maintained. The inhabitants
ain their local assemblies and their
ucational and religious liberties. All
s is the "enslavement" imposed. For
e first time, indeed, since the annexa-
n of the Saar Basin to Prussia and to
e Bavarian Pfalz, these people are now
ing under a Government resident on
e spot.

Nevertheless, in order to assure the
hts and welfare of the Sarrois and the
ire freedom to France to work the
nes, every one concerned, governors
d governed, may seem placed appar-
ly in unnatural positions by the very
ture of the circumstances.

First, though the rank and file of the officials show an overwhelming majority of Germans, the fact that the Commissioners are four to one non-Sarrois results in a lack of popular, racial sympathy.

Second, the Government is established for a limited time—fifteen years.

Third, the Government not only governs the Saar district, but includes the rights therein of a foreign Power, France.

Fourth, order could not be entirely maintained by a local gendarmerie because the higher industrial wages naturally attract the men; in addition, they have not the requisite impartiality. Of course the Government does not expect to maintain a foreign garrison as a permanent feature of its organization. As a plebiscite area, the Saar must have administrative independence. This independence is incompatible with the maintenance of order by the troops of one of the Powers concerned with the territory's final possession. The French garrison, therefore, has been reduced as much as possible, namely, to one-fifth of its original force of ten thousand men. Even so, and with the increase of the gendarmerie, foreign troops still form the chief means of maintaining order, and so valuable are the mines to France that her Government gladly pays for the troops' support, placing them freely at the governing Commission's disposal.

The Commission has been not only upright, uncorrupted, and the guardian of order. On the financial side its record has been still more notable. Unlike nearly every other European Government, it has actually been able to balance its budgets. Nor is this all. Incredible as it may seem, it has been able to save enough, in addition, to pay for what the strike cost it. In these days, when so much underpinning seems dropping out of some German states, it is a satisfaction to see that this region is steady, self-respecting, thrifty, successful.

This has been chiefly due to business-like, economic, American pressure from the two successive Ministers of Finance on the Commission, Canadians both, Mr. R. D. Waugh and Mr. G. W. Stephens. During Mr. Waugh's three and a half years of office the pioneering work of developing the Saar Basin into a financial efficiency devolved upon him. His success in making ends meet was both monumental and phenomenal.

Another thing. When I was last here, early in 1923, hotel bills, cab fares, everything was reckoned in marks. Now everything is reckoned in francs. Up to this year the Government's budgets were made out in marks and also in francs; this year they are made out in francs only. A steady standard of value had proved beyond a peradventure that the industrial concerns which had already replaced the mark by the franc were in far better condition than were the others. Why, then, urged the French, not make the custom universal in the district? They carried the day.

Since the signing of the Versailles Treaty steady influences from both Berlin and Paris have been converging here, pulling of course in opposite directions. An instance of a strong influence from Berlin was the help of subsidies in making the recent strike a sympathetic movement to that in the Ruhr. An instance of a subtler force on the French side is found in the excellence of the French schools in this district. In them there is not the least open propaganda, but a quiet force persists. The Germans are deservedly proud of their own schools, and yet when, four years ago, the French opened theirs, ostensibly for the children of their officers, no less than twelve thousand pupils applied for admission, the very large majority of course being Germans. This meant a loss to the German schools, but a practical gain to some Sarrois. They perceived in a fifteen-year occupation of their territory the increasing use of the French language, and proposed to have their children at least proportionately equipped.

Paris may be winning over Berlin. But the increased prestige will, I fancy, be hardly great enough to induce the Sarrois in 1934 to elect to pass under permanent French sovereignty. On the other hand, they will not be so likely, as seemed probable four years ago, to choose to return to Germany. They may be quite willing to continue present prosperity under present rule.

Saarbrücken.

Parliament's Barbaric Pomp

"'We'll make an end of this expensive nonsense,' a labor leader shouted as he watched the ceremonies opening the session in 1922." But the Parliamentary ritual has six centuries of tradition behind it. It is significant of the drama of English history. That is what

Mr. Lindsay Rogers

makes you feel in his article on the opening of Parliament in next week's issue of The Outlook.

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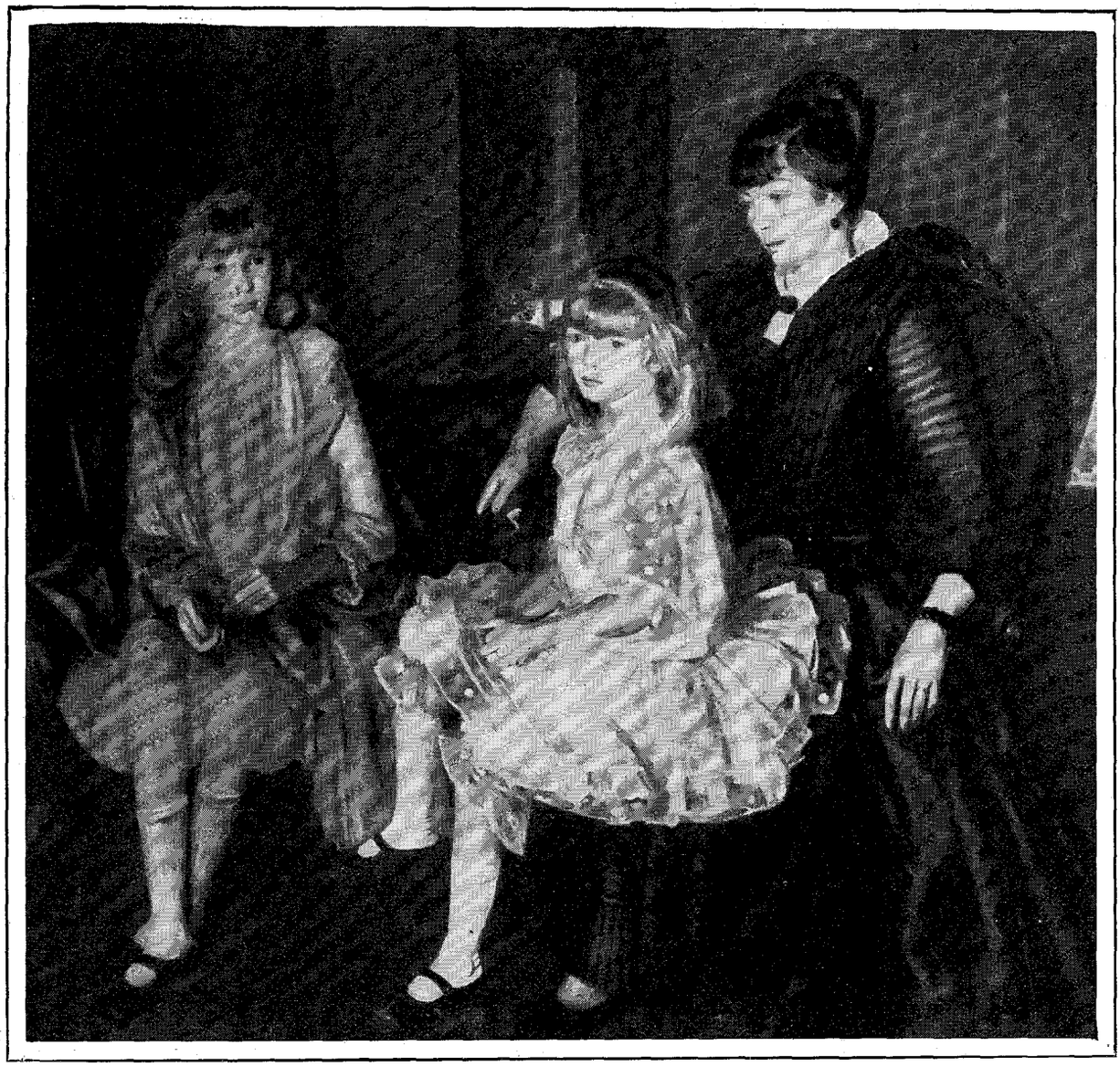
The Young Progressive Who



Keystone

"Emma and Her Children," by George W. Bellows

This picture received the William A. Clark prize of $2,000 and the Corcoran Gold Medal at the ninth Exhibition of Contemporary American Oil Paintings at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

IT is only a few years since George Bellows, Henri, Luks, Glackens, Sloan, and a few others were the young Progressives of American art. Now they are almost Pilgrim Fathers or Elder Statesmen, or something of the sort.

To identify this painter too closely with a group, however, would be a mistake. He stands by himself, and his work needs no signature. For there is marked individuality in both color and design. If he has a kinship, it may be with such an earlier artist as Winslow Homer.

Like Homer, Bellows is emphatic, masculine. And he finds congenial themes at sea, not so much because it is the sea as because of the chance for color contrast and for bold design. Whatever he is painting, he loves to set a strong blue or purple where it will shout. He seeks opposition of hues as diligently as some painters pursue the blending tones. But he usually carries it off without disaster.

In an earlier period not a few American artists, like Abbey and Pyle, were known first as draughtsmen, magazine and book illustrators, making a place for themselves later as mural or portrait painters. Bellows is reversing the process. He made his early entrance with peremptory canvases that found ready appreciation. Of late years he has gone in for lithographs and drawings, including some notable magazine illustration. But in all of his work he keeps the character of painter.

This is evident in his studies of prize-fights, for example, or in the use of the war episode—Edith Cavell. The composition is treated decoratively, and its passing news interest does not disturb its balance as a work of art.

It would be hard to say whether this active and exploring talent finds a better field in portraiture or in composition of other sorts. One of his finest works is the "College Campus," a scene which could be found only in America and a canvas which seems to convey a direct feeling of our soil and of our social fabric. In such pieces as that, in "After the Rain" or "The Bowery After Dark," there is no forcing of the effect, no false dependence upon a formula of technique.

ROBERT J. COLE.

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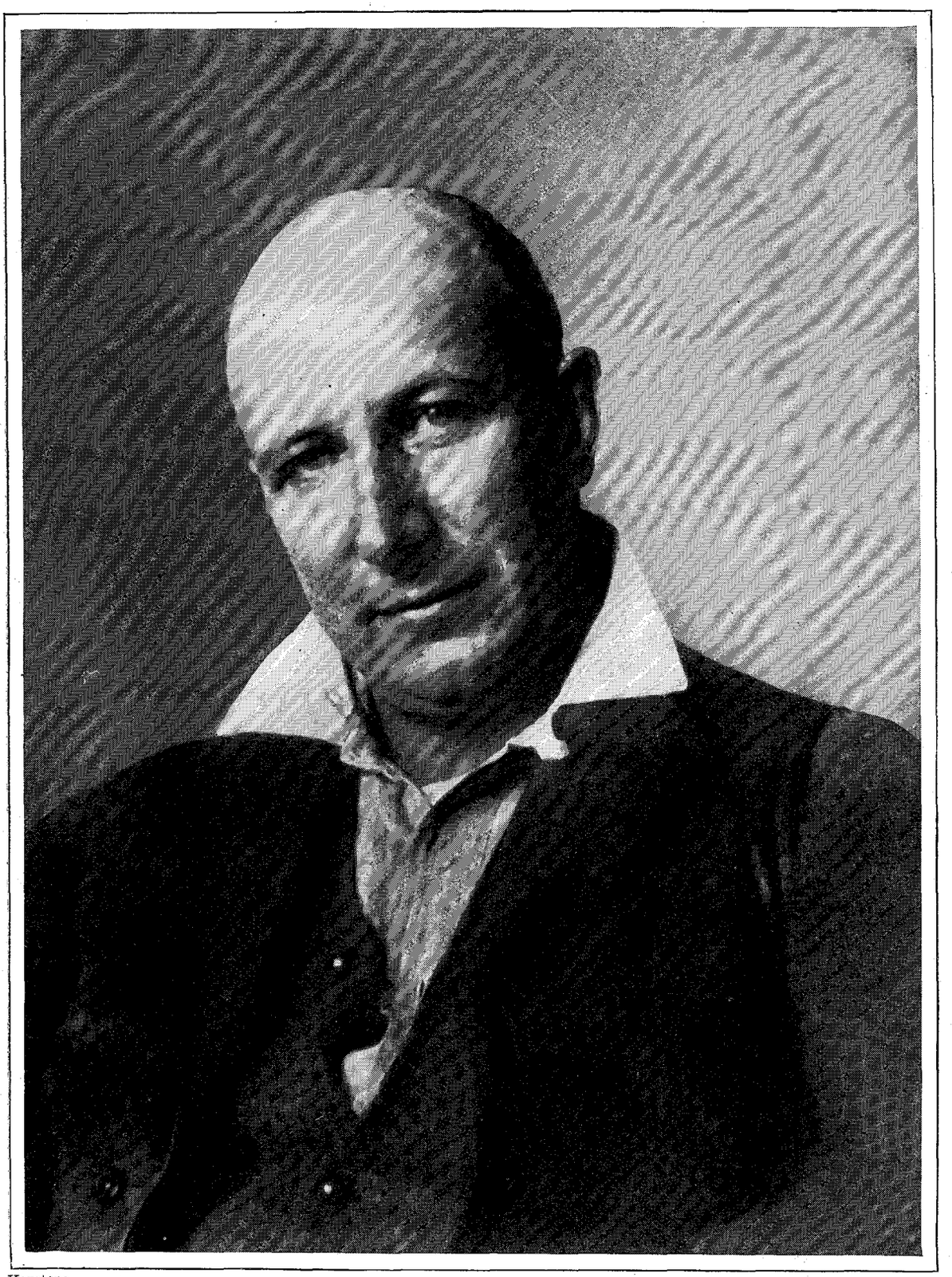
Became an Elder Statesman



Keystone

George W. Bellows

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When the Klan Rules

Old Evils in the New Klan

By STANLEY FROST

The inherent dangers of the Klan organization are clearly pointed out in this article, the third of a series of independent but related articles which began in The Outlook for December 19

WHEN Colonel Simmons in 1915 formed his new Ku Klux Klan along the lines of the Klan of 1866, he inevitably took over in one bundle not only the form but much of the tradition and of the ideas of terrorism, violence, and defiance of government on which the older organization was built. They may not have been part of his intentions; they simply were there, whatever he or any one else said or did. They are, in fact, so knit into the very structure of the Klan that such reforms as have been made by the new Imperial Wizard, Dr. Evans, can hardly touch them. So, although the Klan as he is handling it is considerably changed and far less open to obvious criticism, it remains the same in many essentials.

Not all people will believe that these inherent qualities are wholly evil and dangerous. Some actually believe in them; some will hold that, even if objectionable, they are necessary; some, that the good that may be accomplished outweighs the danger. But to an outsider they certainly appear, at least on the surface, to be not only highly menacing, but also sharply inconsistent with the purposes and ideals which the Klan professes. They make it easy to believe them utterly hypocritical. But, giving Dr. Evans and his associates every credit for sincere patriotism and idealism, these things still seem so fundamental and dangerous that their whole effort must come under strong suspicion of being an attempt to grow figs on a thistle.

I say "on the surface," because Klan leaders, while they admit in some degree the danger and in larger degree the risk of misunderstanding, deny that these things are what they seem, or that any of them are as dangerous as they appear. These explanations and defenses will be given in proper place; however convincing they may or may not be, it is certain that before taking up the purposes, protestations, strategy, and tactics of the Klan, the organization which is behind them should be studied carefully.

Most important, because it permeates the whole structure and of necessity colors all first impressions of the Klan for members as well as outsiders, is the tradition of the Klan of the sixties. Its justification is not in question here.

The important fact about it is that *it was an organization of terror*. And it was diabolically effective. It was so effective that its creators destroyed it, carefully and completely. As soon as the gravest danger had passed, and long before normal conditions had been restored, the leaders, who were among the best in the South, decided that the dangers were so great, the inherent evils so menacing, and the impossibility of control was so manifest, that it could not be allowed to live. In 1869 General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Grand Wizard, issued an order which dissolved it almost in a night.

This is the organization which the new Klan has imitated and of which it claims to be the heir; this the tradition it took over. It has added much to the formulas and purposes of the older order, which drew no line against Catholics, Jews, or alien-born. But, since it claims spiritual heirship, the burden of proof is on itself if it is to escape condemnation for reviving in quiet times all the menaces which the old Klan used only under hideous emergency and so quickly abandoned.

The new Klan, it is true, has in it some of the men who were members of the old, and their sons. But it also has some of both among its opponents. One son of an officer of Lee condemns it as follows:

"This outfit is a plain impostor. There's nothing of the old Klan about it but the name and nonsense. Maybe it's got some of the riffraff who made the trouble that caused the old Klan to disband—I don't know. But no true member of the old Klan and no true Southerner can draw the lines that this gang does. The old Klan had Catholics in it, and Jews. No man who loves the memory of the Confederacy is going to join a crowd that would bar out Judah P. Benjamin, General Beauregard, and a dozen like them. No, sir!"

First of the characteristics of the old Klan which mark the new and which must be judged in the light of the old tradition is the mask and all it implies of secrecy and terrorism. This is, to begin with, a secrecy different from that of other fraternities. They protect their ritual and purposes, as the Klan does; the Klan hides its members as well.

The efforts Dr. Evans has made to remove the threat of physical terrorism from the Klan regalia and work have already been described. But even if those efforts should become completely successful this form of secrecy is open to such very grave objections that I know of several high-grade men, now fighting the Klan, who have told me that they would join it if, as one of them put it, they could "wear a Klan button."

One of the obvious dangers is the possibility of the perversion of the order. Behind its veil it could be swung swiftly from one objective to another; it could be used in whole or in part—without the knowledge of better-class members—for purposes to which they were bitterly opposed, but which they would aid through the very fact of their membership.

More serious is the fact that it makes the Klan utterly irresponsible except to the consciences of Klansmen. It can strike in the dark as the old Klan did—and this covers much more than mere physical violence—and leave no clue. Its actions, whether good or bad, may sometimes be suspected, but can seldom be proved. Its officers are in the open, to be sure, but they can easily deny or claim what they wish. Thus the Klan is almost perfectly ungetatable either by the public or the Government. "The Government made every effort to suppress the Klan," writes General Forrest of the reconstruction days, "but it was utterly powerless." The new Klan is similarly organized. If it has the manpower and the desire, it can become in very fact an "invisible empire."

Most serious of all is the terrorism, the implied threat of the mask. It is not enough for the Klan to deny that it intends any such threat, not enough, even,

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Oath of Allegiance to the Ku Klux Klan

(Note:—The text of the oath as printed for Klan use contains asterisks in place of the name of the Klan and of certain other identifying words. In the following text these have been filled in, and the directions as to action have been omitted where they are obvious.)

SECTION I.—OBEDIENCE.

"I, ..., In the presence of God and Man most solemnly pledge, promise and swear unconditionally, that I will faithfully obey the constitution and laws and will willingly conform to all regulations, usages and requirements of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which do now exist or which may hereafter be enacted, and will render at all times loyal respect and steadfast support to the Imperial Authority of the same, and will heartily heed all official mandates, decrees, edicts, rulings and instructions of the Imperial Wizard thereof. I will yield prompt response to all summonses, I having knowledge of same, Providence alone preventing.

SECTION II.—SECRECY.

"I most solemnly swear that I will forever keep sacredly secret the signs, words and grip and any and all other matters and knowledge of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan regarding which a most rigid secrecy must be maintained, which may at any time be communicated to me, and will never divulge same nor even cause same to be divulged to any person in the whole world unless I know positively that such person is a member of this Order in good and regular standing and not even then unless it be for the best interest of this Order.

"I most sacredly vow and most positively swear that I will never yield to bribe, flattery, threats, passion, punishment, persecution, persuasion nor any enticements whatever coming from or offered by any person or persons, male or female, for the purpose of obtaining from me a secret or secret information of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I will die rather than divulge same, so help me God. AMEN!"

(The candidate then waits till the Exalted Cyclops and his Klan have decided whether to admit him. If this is done, he is taken into the Klavern, and the oath continues:—)

SECTION III.—FIDELITY.

"I, ..., Before God and in the presence of these mysterious Klansmen, on my sacred honor do most solemnly and sincerely pledge, promise and swear that I will diligently guard and faithfully foster every interest of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and will maintain its social caste and dignity.

"I swear I will never recommend any person for membership in this Order whose mind is unsound or whose reputation I know to be bad or whose character is doubtful or whose loyalty to our country is in any way questionable.

"I swear that I will pay promptly all just and legal demands made upon me to defray the expenses of my Klan and this Order when same are due or called for.

"I swear that I will protect the property of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of any nature whatsoever and if any should be intrusted to my keeping I will properly keep or rightly use same and will freely and promptly surrender same on official demand or if I am ever banished from or voluntarily discontinue my membership in this Order.

"I swear that I will most determinedly maintain peace and harmony in all the deliberations of the gatherings or assemblies of the Invisible Empire and of any subordinate jurisdiction or Klan thereof.

"I swear that I will most strenuously discourage selfishness and selfish political ambition on the part of myself or any Klansman.

"I swear that I will never allow personal friendship, blood or family relationship, nor personal, political or professional prejudice, malice nor illwill to influence me in casting my vote for the election or rejection of an applicant for membership in this Order, God being my helper.

AMEN

SECTION IV.—KLANNISHNESS.

"I, ..., Most solemnly pledge, promise and swear that I will never slander, defraud, deceive or in any manner wrong the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a Klansman nor a Klansman's family, nor will I suffer the same to be done if I can prevent it.

"I swear that I will be faithful in defending and protecting the home, reputation and physical and business interest of a Klansman and that of a Klansman's family.

"I swear that I will at any time, without hesitating, go to the assistance or rescue of a Klansman in any way, at his call I will answer. I will be truly Klannish toward Klansmen in all things honorable.

"I swear that I will never allow any animosity, friction nor illwill to arise and remain between myself and a Klansman, but will be constant in my efforts to promote real Klannishness among the members of this Order.

"I swear that I will keep secure to myself the secret of a Klansman when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of Klansmanship, the crime of violating THIS solemn oath, treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted.

"I most solemnly assert and affirm that to the government of the United States of America and any State thereof of which I may become a resident, I sacredly swear an unqualified allegiance above any other and every kind of government in the whole world. I here and now pledge my life, my property, my vote, and my sacred honor to uphold its flag, its constitution and constitutional laws and will protect, defend and enforce same unto death.

"I most Solemnly Promise and Swear That I will always, at all Times and in all places, Help, aid and assist, The duly Constituted officers of The law in The proper performance of Their Legal Duties.

"I swear that I will most zealously and valiantly shield and preserve by any and all justifiable means and methods the sacred constitutional rights and privileges of free public schools, free speech, free press, separation of church and state, liberty, white supremacy, just laws, and the pursuit of happiness against any encroachment of any nature by any person or persons, political party or parties, religious sect or people, native, naturalized or foreign, of any race, color, creed, lineage or tongue whatsoever.

"All to which I have sworn by THIS oath I will seal with my blood, be Thou my witness, Almighty God,

AMEN!"

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for it to avoid violence. The very existence of a masked organization makes it possible for any group of adventurers or criminals to act under Klan disguise and often to gain something in safety thereby. The essential fact is that the mask, in its very nature, is a threat. It was devised by the old Klan for that purpose. Public opinion so holds it; holds that to have bodies of masked men wandering around in disguise is in itself a threat against peace and law. At least one jury—in Amarillo, Texas—has held that the wearing of Klan regalia in public is a menace in and by itself, and a man was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary on that verdict.

A second class of objections to the Klan springs from the form of the organization; not merely the grotesque and ludicrous names and language, but the method of control, the oaths and obligations, and the great danger that members will put a vicious interpretation on them and on the Klan symbolism, are all wide open to attack.

To any one unfamiliar with the extravagances of secret societies, and even to some who are, the nomenclature of the Klan and some of its forms offer a broad target. By official title its officers are an array of mythological monsters and nightmare absurdities which just naturally start chuckles. For example, the proclamation of the Klan constitution reads:

"To all Genii, Grand Dragons and Hydras, Great Titans and Furies, Giants, Exalted Cyclops and Terrors, and to all citizens of the Invisible Empire," etc.

The organization, and the meanings of these fabulous titles, are as follows:

The nominal head of the organization is the Emperor, who has no real power, but authority over ritual, regalia, titles, etc. The actual executive head is the Imperial Wizard. Gathered around him are a Kloncilium, composed of the following "genii," all "imperial:" Klaliff, Klazik, Klokard, Kludd (chaplain), Kligrapp (secretary), Klabe (treasurer), Kladd, Klarogo, Klexter, Klonsel, Night-Hawk, and four Klokann. The legislative body of the Klan is a Klonvocation.

Each State is a "realm," headed by a Grand Dragon, having a council similarly named except that the members are "grand" instead of "imperial" and are the "hydras." The "provinces," usually counties, are headed by Great Titans, their councils are "great" and are "furies;" the individual Klan, occupying a Klanton, is headed by an Exalted Cyclops, and his council are "terrors." A "giant" is an ex-officer, with some appropriate adjective; thus an ex-Wizard is an Imperial Giant, and an ex-Cyclops merely a Klan Giant. A Kleagle, now fairly well known, is an organizer.

There is much of this sort of stuff, too much to be worth detailing, as it is all along the same lines, except perhaps the Klan Kalendar, now in its Fifty-seventh year. In it the days of the week are, in order, "dark, deadly, dismal, doleful, desolate, dreadful, and desperate;" the weeks are "woeful, weeping, wailing, wonderful, and weird," and the months are "bloody, gloomy, hideous, fearful, furious, alarming, terrible, horrible, mournful, sorrowful, frightful, and appalling." Thus the revised Klan Constitution—I have not learned why it is not a Klonstiklution—was officially proclaimed on November 29, 1922, or "on the Doleful Day of the Weird Week of the Terrible Month of the year of the Klan LVI."

In view of all the nomenclature, this seems a fitting date!

All this, however, is not merely funny. A Klansman must take these names more or less seriously; they have a meaning. However they are now interpreted—and I have learned nothing about the ritualistic symbolism of the order—they carry on their face the mark of the terroristic purposes of the old Klan. So, too, do the insignia: the fiery cross, originally used to call the Scottish clans to arms and a symbol of alarm and armed trouble from time immemorial; the crossed swords which lie upon the Bible before its shrines; the robed and mounted horseman; the dragon on the ensign with arrowheads for tongue and tail; and all the rest.

So, too, does much of the language of the oaths and Constitution. The very name of "Invisible Empire" has a definite meaning in common speech and thought; "Imperial Authority," to which the Klansman swear allegiance, the titles of his officers, his oath to enforce the law himself as well as to aid law officers—all these things combine to give an impression which, however it may be explained and changed in ritualistic discussion, seem to the outsider certain to leave a basic "complex" of militant activity hardly consistent with complete obedience to law and with democratic patriotism.

There seems also another complete inconsistency in the government of the Order, since it puts itself forward as the champion of democracy. In its structure it is a complete despotism. The Imperial Wizard has enormous power and can veto the election of any officer or remove him at will, except that he must give a trial to Imperial officials—his "genii." His term of office is fixed at four years, but his election is by the Grand Dragons, and these he appoints himself and can remove instantly. Thus it seems impossible ever to remove him, however dangerous he may become.

His power over all members, if they keep their oaths, is considerable. They promise to "heed" all his commands; I find in the constitution no limit on those commands, though there may be some in the Kloran—the ritual. But there is no doubt that he has a very complete, uncontrolled constitutional power, and that he can produce sudden, secret, and concentrated action when he wishes. How far he could go is another matter; there are many things he could not do without violating his oath and thus releasing his followers.

One further ground for criticism is inherent in the Klan: the possibility that the members may feel oath-bound to protect other Klansmen from justice. The oath reads: "I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a Klansman when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of Klansmanship, the crime of violating this sacred oath, treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted." This seems fairly flat and not conducive to assisting any one to bring Klansmen to justice for ordinary crimes.

There is also to be considered the most serious criticism which can be made against the Klan: that it is based wholly on class division, race and religious prejudice, and hatred in general. The validity of this criticism depends so much on the actual propaganda, and is so involved with its purposes and programme, that it must be left for a later article.

Of course there is a Klan defense for all this. In the first place, many of these same charges can be, and have been, brought against other secret orders. There was a time, now almost forgotten, when the Masonic order was under just this kind of attack. I have seen old books which accused it of almost every crime on the calendar, including treason and ritual murder. Within a few years a book was printed in London alleging that Masonry was responsible for the Terror in the French Revolution and at least partly responsible for Bolshevism. So, to a large extent, the Klan in these matters is on all fours with other secret orders.

Then, too, the section of the oath quoted above is in conflict with other sections. The Klansman also swears unqualified allegiance to the United States Government, support of the laws, and aid to law officers. (See the text of the oath published herewith.) So he has at least a choice under his oath as to whether or not he will protect another

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Klansman from the law. Dr. Evans believes there is no conflict—that the enforcement of the law is unquestionably first. But there is some talk in the Klan of changing the phraseology.

I put to Dr. Evans, as bluntly as I could, all these objections to the Klan. He discussed them very frankly, admitted some grounds for most of them, and explained and justified others. Though he did not say so, I gathered that he feels that some of them are a heavy incubus left over from the evil days of the Simmons-Clark régime.

I asked his justification for secrecy. He had admitted that it might involve some serious evils.

"In the present state of the country, when it is necessary to combat organizations using these and even worse methods," he said, "it would be foolish to surrender any advantage.

"The Klan will be out in the open one of these days, as soon as the principles for which it stands prevail and when the necessity for secrecy seems to have been eliminated. It will unmask, and it will make public its membership at any time that those forces which are throttling American ideals and diluting our American citizenship and living under their own interpretation—if they have any!—of the Constitution come into the spotlight of American publicity and reveal their intentions and motives and when legislation is made all-inclusive. This applies to political as well as to religious organizations."

But when I asked what value there is in "bed-sheets and pillow-cases" if not to create terror, he laughed.

"They are very valuable as an advertising feature. They have some value in conferring degrees, because of impressiveness. This is the answer to the public. To the Klansman they are regalia and carry important significance and typify certain ideals. They have no other value."

He grew grave again when I asked what the Klan means by "Invisible Empire."

"We are dropping the expression," he replied, "using it less and less. It is a ritualistic phrase referring to the geographical jurisdiction of the order, and having no reference to any political government."

"Is not the government of the Klan a complete dictatorship?" I asked.

"In form, yes. In actuality, no," he declared. "It is necessary to have that form of government, as a democracy unless organized cannot protect nor cleanse itself. Also, the only way to protect the Klan from constant efforts to exploit it for personal profit, or by demagogues who might be able to sway a portion of its membership through an appeal to emotionalism, is to have a government strong enough to suppress all such attempts.

"But actually, in spite of the form of the Constitution, it would be impossible for an Imperial officer to run counter to the wishes of the organization as a whole. While the rest of the organization is secret, the officers and their conduct are out in the open, subject to constant watchfulness. If they go wrong, they will lose their following and the organization be destroyed. There have been instances in which this has been proved.

"I will add that this form of organization is common to all fraternities, and that the Klan is no more centralized, even, than some religious bodies which are never attacked on that ground. Still, there is an apparent contradiction here. The Klan stands for democracy in government, and must also stand for democracy inside itself. A solution is being sought."

"Is not some of the language in the oaths and Constitution such that it suggests violence, at least to certain types of mind?" I asked.

"I do not believe so. Few people understand the spiritual vision of a Klansman: Any individual who had the idea in mind would, I believe, be promptly disabused of it in the obligations and interpretations of the very first ceremony."

In his discussion of the ritual of the Klan, the grotesque nomenclature and the symbolism of the order, I confess that Dr. Evans got beyond my depth. I have never been a member of any secret order, and what I have been able to see of their ceremonies does not seem very sacred to me. Yet I am forced to consider this a blindness in myself, for I have friends, sane and intelligent, to whom these things are very solemn and very sacred. Certainly they are both to Dr. Evans, and his reverent attitude made me ashamed of having referred to the "Klan menagerie." I can only give his reply to my question just as he made it.

"I probably cannot explain in a way that would be fully understood by any one outside fraternal societies," he said. "The best answer I can give is this: that, just as the spiritual ideals of religion have to be clothed in formalities which to the non-religious seem ludicrous and are ridiculed, so it is necessary to clothe the idealism and spiritual concepts of fraternalism, and especially of a purposeful order such as the Klan, in similar ritual and formalism.

"I will leave it to some psychologist to explain why that is so, but every man with experience in dealing with ideals on a popular basis knows that the people want and need symbolism and that when it is destroyed something precious, vital, and irreplaceable has been taken away from them. For myself, I know that if there is a question about the literal inspiration of any word in the Bible I do not want to consider it. I wish to believe. I do believe. It is only on this basis that one can understand the formalism of the Klan."

My last question to Dr. Evans along this line was whether the Klan would not become extremely dangerous if ever perverted.

"It would," he declared. "It would be frightful. But the very organization of the Klan is such that if the attempt were ever made it would automatically destroy itself. The strength of the Klan is in the ideals of the Klansmen, and that strength cannot be used apart from those ideals."

Some matters Dr. Evans did not wish to discuss for publication. "Let's leave that for a while—I'm not ready for that yet," he would say. Finally he made a blanket statement, indicating that his reforms of the Klan are not done, and that he plans changes in the constitution which will remove some of the grounds for criticism, perhaps most.

"There are certain difficulties inherent in the growth of the organization and in its form and the language of some of its official documents," he said. "These naturally must be handled slowly and with great care. They are being handled in this fashion and will be corrected. But I do not care to discuss them for publication until solutions have been reached."

Whatever these reforms may be, they naturally cannot be taken into consideration, either, until they are made effective. Judgment for the time being must be based on the Klan as it is. And, from the facts available, it seems clear that the Klan to-day is still irresponsible, uncontrollable, autocratic, and terroristic in form; that if its members keep their oaths and take them and some of the official language and formulas literally, and are impressed by the apparent meaning of its symbolism, it is quite capable of becoming a real invisible government, protecting its members from the law and striking powerfully and with immunity from the dark. It seems that General Forrest and his associates in 1869 had good reason to destroy such an organization the moment their desperate emergency passed.

The great present safeguard—the reason why all these evils are mostly inherent and only partly actual—is in the

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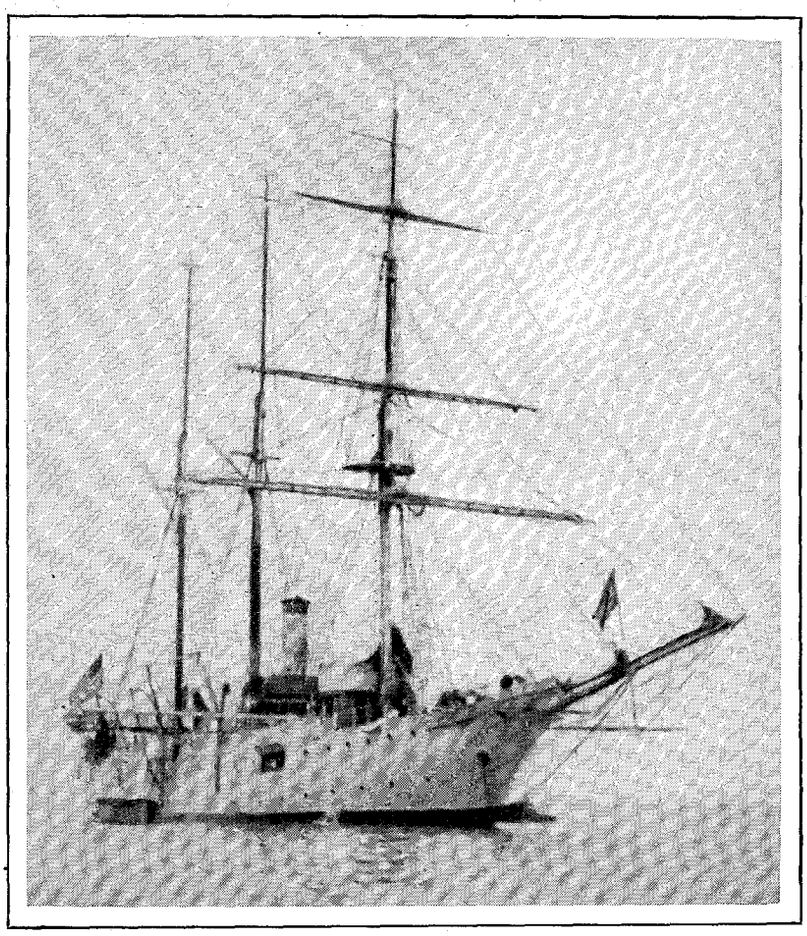
leadership and control. The danger must remain until the organization itself is changed. From seeing many Klansmen I know that a very large proportion have joined in spite of these features of the Klan, not because of them. That they have joined at all is proof of the power of appeal of the present purposes and programme. Dr. Evans is right when he says that the strength of the Klan to-day is in the ideals of the Klansmen.

The next article, "The Crusade of the Fiery Cross," will take up those ideals and the purposes and policies of the Klan as they have been revised by the new régime. That article will be based on the first discussion of the Klan which Dr. Evans has ever held with a writer outside his own following, and so will give the world its first chance to see the Klan through his thought and hopes.

The School on a Ship

By FELIX RIESENBERG

Sea training that has stood the test of time—that is what awaits the lad who seeks an education on such a schoolship as the Newport. How many Americans know of the advantages that come to those who learn their lessons to the tune of wind in the rigging and salt waves over side?



U. S. S. Newport, the New York State Nautical Schoolship

WE are so accustomed to bad news, especially when ships are concerned, that a few hopeful facts about a typical American system of sea schooling, a system that goes back to 1875, may be of interest.

"But do we have sailors, let alone train them?"

The answer is, "We do." Man for man, the smartest merchant sailors afloat are Americans, and now we speak of the pre-war men and those who survive, for a goodly number of these unknowns perished in the early stages of the World War, when they dared the dangers without prospect of honor or reward. Through these men America entered the war on August 4, 1914.

"But the stories we hear—the Shipping Board?"

Yes, of course. All of a sudden America was called upon for ships—and more ships, to quote the classic line. For a time no one bothered about the manning of these craft or the management of them. Then suddenly it dawned upon those in authority that merchant marine officers were needed. The Shipping Board evolved a brilliant plan to turn them out by the thousands in a few months, using a cramming system whereby any one who had served two years at sea was eligible. The kind and value of this service were not too closely scrutinized. This resulted in the issuing of Government licenses as navigators and engineers to many thousands who have left behind them a sweet-smelling trail of disaster of all kinds. But even these near-officers were not enough for our mushroom fleet, and the laws were altered to allow any foreigner holding a certificate from his own country to walk up to a Steamboat Inspection Service wicket and, on the strength of his foreign papers, receive an equivalent American license without examination or investigation. A great many excellent foreign officers came into American service in this way, but with them also came practically all of the blacklegs and bad eggs of every foreign service owning ships. These men also did their part in the great fiasco of American shipping, helped along of course by the political non-nautical experts who have largely been in charge of our Government-controlled merchant shipping.

This will give some of the reasons underlying the accepted belief that Americans are not sailors, and the general idea that Americans are unfitted for the sea, combined with the almost utter lack of knowledge by the public of the three greatest sea schools in the world—the State Schoolships of America.

A great many of the seasoned pre-war merchant service officers and the most wide-awake and progressive juniors, both on deck and in the engine rooms, are graduates of the three State schoolships—the Newport of New York State, the Nantucket of Massachusetts, and the

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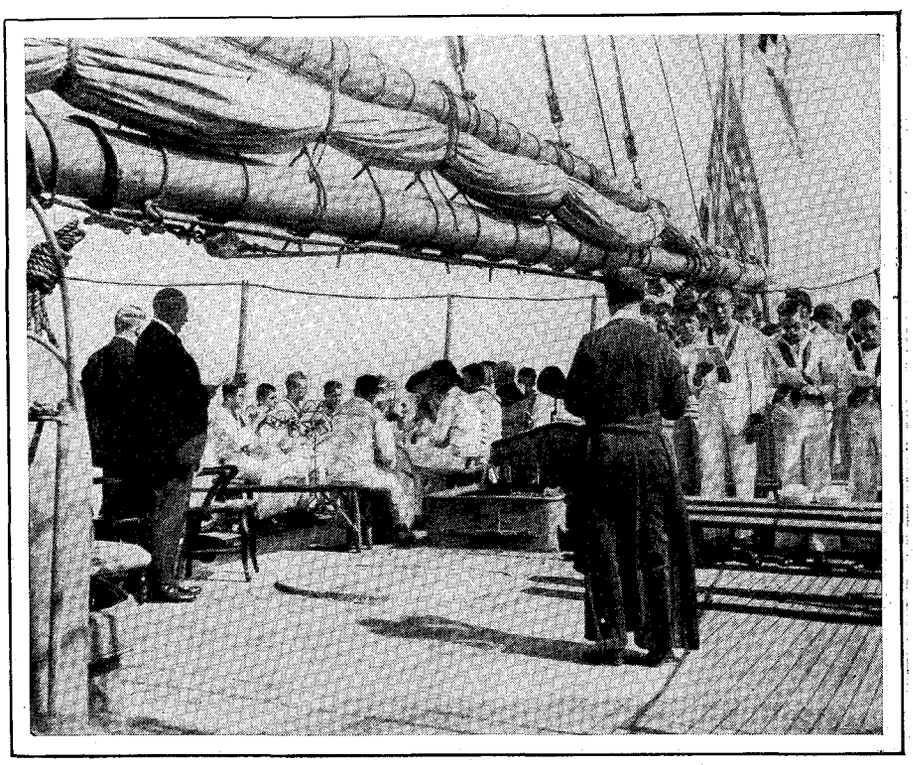
Annapolis of Pennsylvania. These schools grew out of the Schoolship Act of 1875, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to assign suitable vessels, their charts and apparel, to certain ports upon the establishment of nautical schools:

Schoolship Act—June 20, 1874.—The Secretary of the Navy, to promote nautical education, is hereby authorized and empowered to furnish, upon the application in writing of the governor of a State, a suitable vessel of the navy, with all her apparel, charts, books, and instruments of navigation, provided the same can be spared without detriment to the naval service, to be used for the benefit of any nautical school, or school or college having a nautical branch, established at each of the following ports of the United States: Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Baltimore, Detroit, Saginaw, Michigan, Norfolk, and Corpus Christi, upon the condition that there shall be maintained at such port a school or branch of a school for the instruction of youths in navigation, steamship-marine engineering, and all matters pertaining to the proper construction, equipment, and sailing of vessels or any particular branch thereof.

A sum not exceeding the amount annually appropriated by any State or municipality for the purpose of maintaining such a marine school or schools or the nautical branch thereof is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the purpose of aiding in the maintenance and support of such school or schools; Provided, however, That appropriations shall be made for one school in any port heretofore named in section one and that the appropriation for any one year shall not exceed twenty-five thousand dollars for any one school.

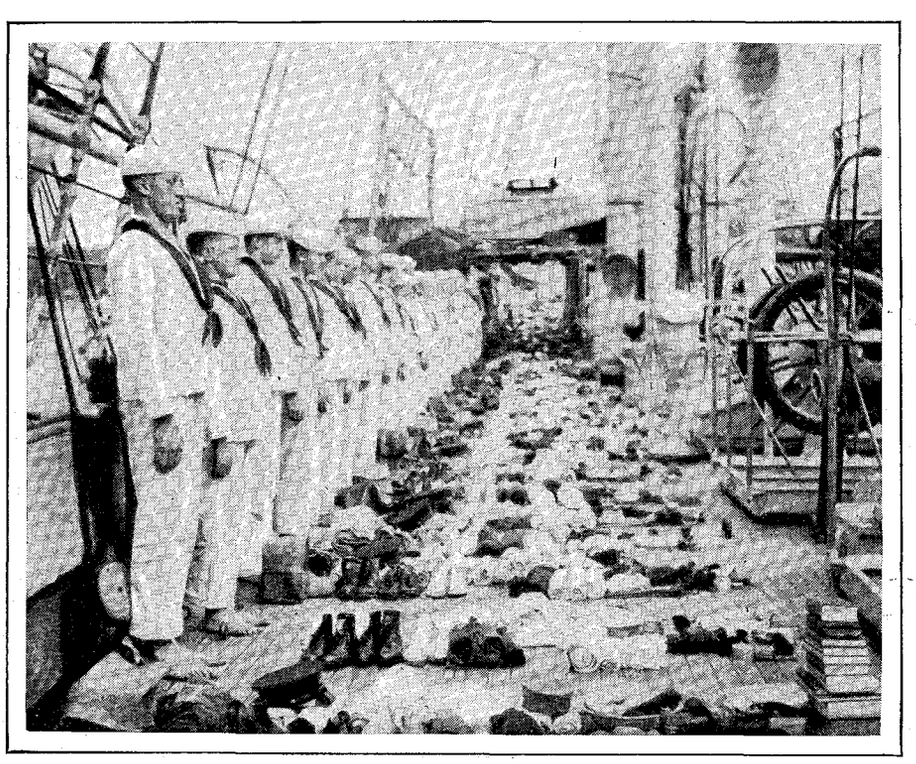


Sunday services. Note, at the upper right, part of the cross on the Church Pennant, the only flag that ever flies above the Ensign

The fostering of these schools is one of the fine things the Navy has done for the merchant marine, one of those unheralded and unadvertised activities typical of real sailors and their universal sympathy with one another. For twenty years or more these schools were officered by active naval men; then, as the graduates became masters, the commanders and a large proportion of the officer personnel were selected from those graduates of the schools who seemed best fitted to perpetuate the kind of sea training that has stood the test of time.

Now what happens to an American boy fortunate enough to live in the State of Massachusetts, New York, or Pennsylvania who is between the ages of seventeen and twenty and has a real call to the sea service of the merchant marine? Does he stand on the stringpiece of a wharf and beg for a job as mess boy in the forecastle (cabin boys are out of date)? No; he applies for admission to his State schoolship, and passes a strict physical examination and a fairly stiff mental test, for he is destined to become a navigator or an engineer and must be grounded in simple mathematics.

Two years of solid training on board a ship is what he gets. The nature of this youthful ordeal, for it is somewhat of an ordeal, is such that in two years he has more things done to him, body and mind, than falls to the lot of the four-year college man ashore. In the first place, he is under severe discipline during the twenty-four hours. He begins his day with the stirring sound of a bugle ringing through the close-packed gun deck of the schoolship, and, with the agility of a monkey, he jumps from his hammock, "lashes and carries," and scrambles into his simple clothing with incredible speed. He lines up at formation, springs into the rigging and up the shrouds and over the masthead, as a



Bag inspection. Cadet kits out on deck

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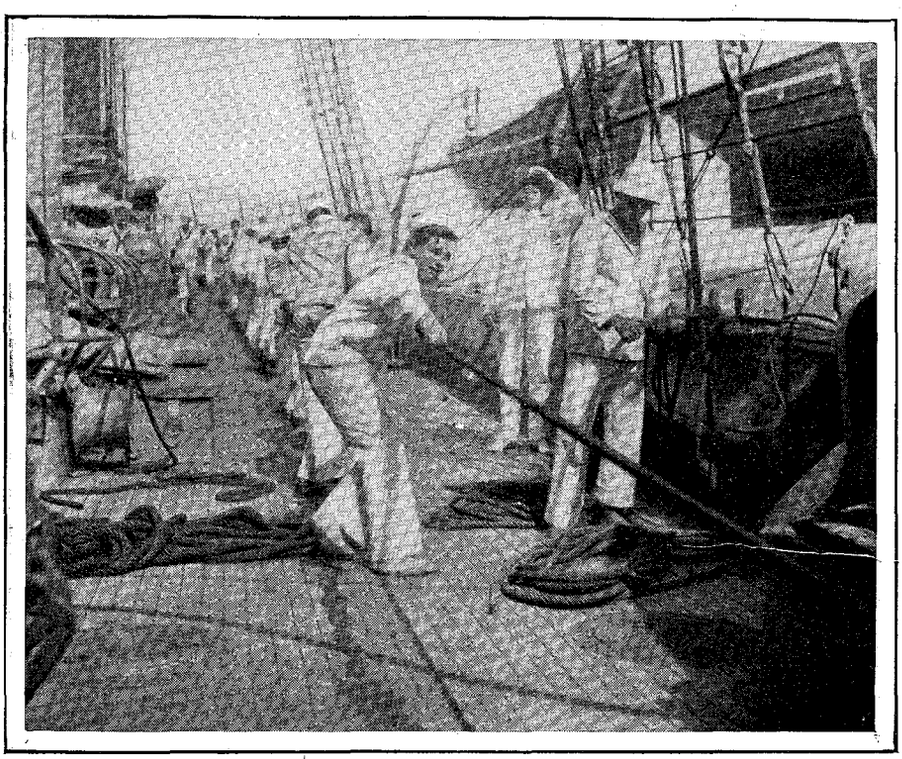


"Haul away, foretops'l halliards!"

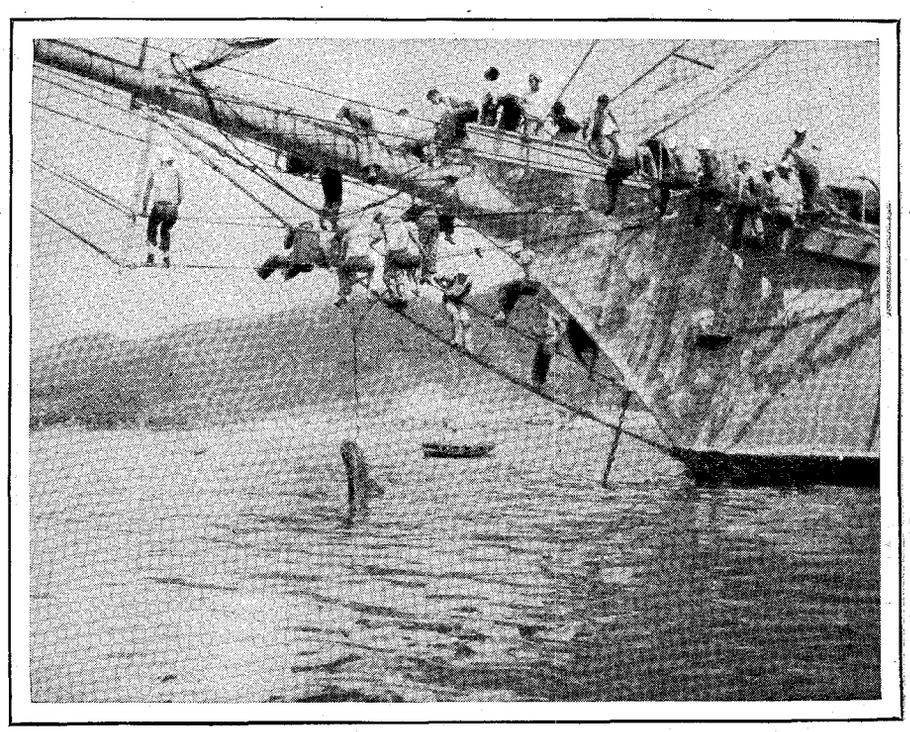
mere matter of getting the fresh morning air into and out of his lungs.

Then he learns the important lesson of obedience to lawful orders, the respect due superiors, the sailorlike "Aye, aye, sir," that many landsmen imagine lingers only on the stage ship Pinafore. But the crowded life of the schoolship, with its white decks, its tall masts and sails, and its boilers and machinery, its boats and gear, provides the ideal surroundings to a youth who has real sea blood in him and longs for blue water. And these boys on the schoolships do see blue water. This is the important and valuable part of the American training. They do not remain at anchor always, but each summer, when spring days wind up the academic term, the ships are put into seagoing trim, largely by the boys, and long cruises carry them over the ocean to Spain and Portugal and the Western islands of the ancients. For nearly half a century the annual visits of the American schoolships have been an event in the Azores, the Madeiras, and the Canaries.

Then the custom is to sail back over the historic route of the trade-wind passage of Columbus, winging westward before steady northeast breezes while the final examinations are given the senior or first class, and on arrival at the home port the young mariners who have qualified are graduated with ceremony. In New York this always takes place on the floor of the Maritime Exchange. The bronzed, self-confident, clear-eyed youngsters are welcomed on the great steamers of a dozen lines. They are regarded as prime material, for they combine the practical with the theoretical. The first-class man, in addition to being a good navigator and a well-founded seaman, has also had the responsibility of carrying on the work of the ship under the direction of officers who check him up on every turn. He comes to the steamship with a developed sense of responsibility and the advantage of being broken to ship life such as exists nowhere to-day but on these schoolships. From the schoolship he carries with him the same old tradition of American ability at sea that sent the clipper ships over the world with the Stars and Stripes leading all rivals in daring and speed. Boys six years out of the schoolships are now captains of large vessels. Boys a few classes behind them are chief engineers and chief officers. Everywhere these quiet, efficient, seaworthy youngsters carry on, to the great credit of the States far-sighted enough to support this form of training and to the credit of the Navy for its fostering support. Most of the graduates are also officers in the Naval Reserve, and many of the highest officers in the Navy—men like Admirals Coontz, Sims, McDonald, Bristol, and Long, former officers on the schoolships in the early days of their inception—are now the watchful and valuable friends of these almost unknown schools.

No rich man could spend money enough on his sons to equal the training given to all who qualify in age and physical and mental condition, all at a cost that calls only for the purchase of uniforms and a very limited allowance for pocket money. The sham is ironed out of life on the hard decks of the schoolship; lads stand squarely on their merit, the confidence of youth asserting itself on the high yard-arm at night in a squall, at the throttle, or in the fire-room under stress, or at the old-fashioned wheel, steering by hand, with an ugly following sea curling over the taffrail.

Each year from a hundred to a hundred and fifty new juniors join the growing ranks of the competent in the American merchant marine. These men also form the material from which we will eventually select our marine executives ashore. Many of the older graduates of the schoolships already hold positions of great influence and importance in the shore end of marine affairs.



Hooking a shark

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The Butterflies

By GAMALIEL BRADFORD

At morning when I lie awake
And wait for lingering day to break,
A thousand lovely verses rise
Like many-colored butterflies.

They float aloft on airy wings,
Impalpable, fantastic things,
And with my half-awakened sight
I revel in their transient flight.

But when, beneath the garish sun,
I try to count them, one by one,
Their grace is gone, their glamour fled,
And I find ghosts of songs instead.

The Return of M. Caillaux

By ERNEST DIMNET

Banished from Paris for three years, this leader of the Defeatists again rises in the troubled sea of French politics. It is a dramatic story which M. Dimnet tells of Caillaux's policies and ambitions

M. CAILLAUX, although banished from Paris for three years and deprived of his political rights, has never ceased to travel, speak, and write as if he had never been condemned by any High Court. But he had refrained so far from addressing an audience in his once familiar tone of leader of the Radical-Socialist party. It was not till the other day that, speaking at Denain, a strong mining center in the devastated regions, he left the country in no doubt at last that at the next election he would resume command of his troops. His three years will be up in April, when the general election takes place. He is still popular in his constituency, even with the clergy, whom he zealously protected against the very anti-clerical laws he was championing in the French Chamber, so there is little doubt that he will be re-elected; and as he is hampered by no exaggeration of modesty, and as his party is hard up for leaders, we can expect to see him promptly push his substitute, M. Herriot, back to his place as a second fiddle. It will show once more how different the French political atmosphere is from that of sterner nations, how prevalent tolerance, based on an idea of freedom, is in France.

M. Caillaux has become quite a personage in America and England, as well as in some South American countries, owing to the articles in which he serenely criticises his own country before foreign opinion as if he had every right to criticise. On the whole, his influence is far from being good, not merely because his judgment is well known to be frequently warped, but because his statements are apt to be amazingly incorrect. It was only the other day that he wrote in the London "Fortnightly Review" that M. Poincaré's characteristic is "a fear of responsibilities"! His British readers must have stared, but, as usual, they probably made up their minds that "a distinguished Frenchman like that must know." A little investigation into his political past would make things much clearer.

M. Caillaux is the son of a good family, which he is a little inclined to imagine even better than it was. His father was a well-off banker who dabbled in politics on the safe and sound conservative side. The boy was brought up according to the approved canons of elegant financial milieus, was educated at a smart Jesuits' school, went to the École des Sciences Politiques, which, apart from its own sterling value, attracts the scions of all the old families, and finally competed for an inspectorship of finance, which he brilliantly secured, for he early showed that capacity for mastering figures which will always be his chief asset. He was well dressed, dashing, impertinent, and conceited. People who used to complain of his *hauteur* gradually became accustomed to it, as he impressed on them that he thought himself, on the contrary, extremely condescending. In a short time he went into politics, on the paternal side, naturally, and stepping in the shoes of a duke. He made his mark as a financial expert and a master of lucid explanation of what can be clear only to a few and at best deceives the rest into imagining they see it clearly. Specialists both in the financial science and in foreign affairs were so scarce at the time that they were sure to attract attention. Long before he was forty M. Caillaux found himself a Cabinet Minis-

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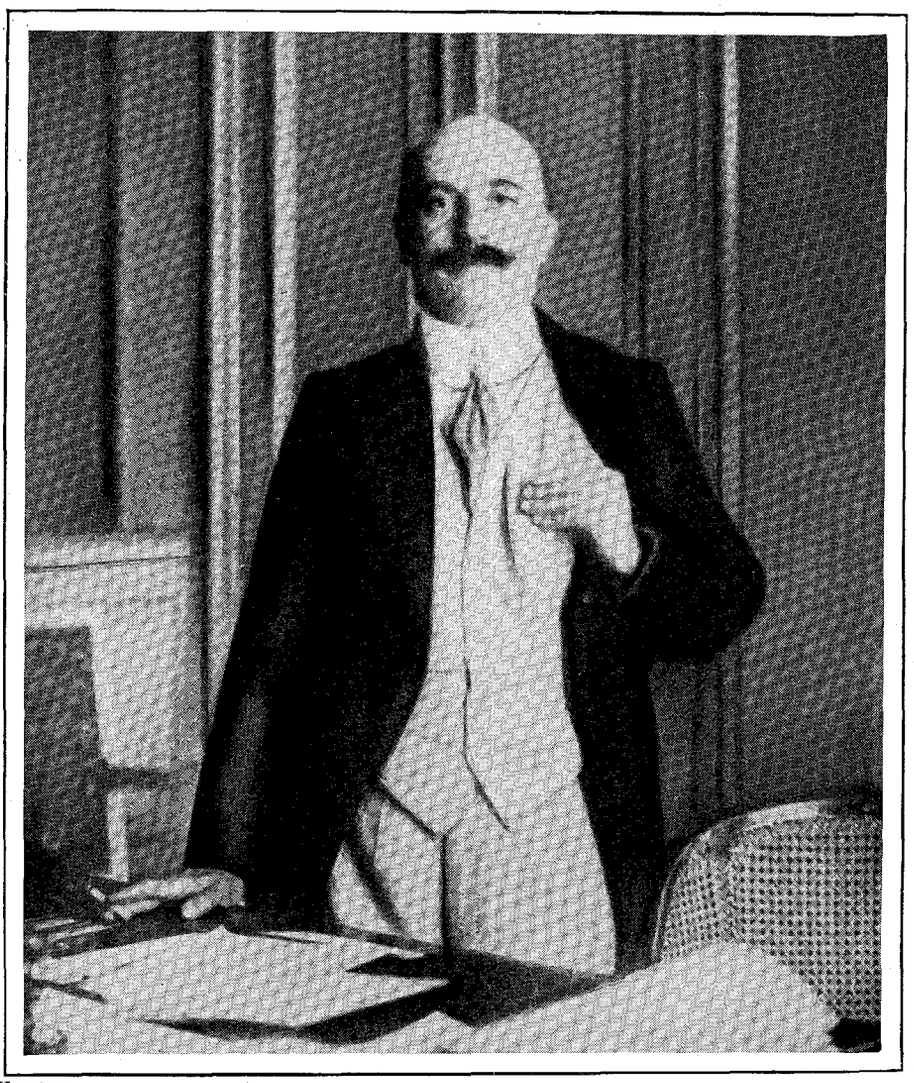
ter in the Waldeck-Rousseau administration, a Moderate of Moderates, and probably looking askance at the first Socialist ever taken on board the wagon of a government, a lawyer of the name of Alexandre Millerand.

Those were the days, however, when moderation and capacity could only lead to a useful career, and men too often think themselves above that. One Moderate Deputy, Jean Jaurès, reappeared after four years' eclipse as a resolute Socialist, a man who could not beat Millerand at actual reforms, but certainly beat him at beautiful talk about reforms. M. Caillaux, who always had in him a touch of a Catiline, followed suit. Being a financier, he could not decently become a Socialist, but it was the easiest thing to become what was, and still is, called a Radical-Socialist—that is to say, a *bourgeois* in the tradition of the great Revolutionists. These were *bourgeois* themselves, and never inclined to give much power to the lower classes of the population, but they found it convenient for rhetorical purposes to substitute the word people for the word nation, which previously obtained—a philological *nuance* fraught with unsuspected consequences. On the other hand, being a financier, M. Caillaux could not become a mere Radical ranter; he adjusted the difficulty by becoming a financial Radical and associating his name with the then new departure, viz., the substitution of the income tax for taxation based on visible property. He may have become sincere in his conviction since, but it is not sure that he was in those days.

One of his letters to a lady-love, published by the "Figaro," a letter which shortly before the war brought about the violent death of its editor, Calmette, at the hands of Madame Caillaux, said in definite terms that, "while pretending to advocate the income tax, he in reality was preparing its ruin." But the effect was produced, and by the year 1910 M. Caillaux had become an "advanced politician" who surprised and, indeed, delighted his new friends, as he still does, by aristocratic airs coupled with demagogic views.

Politicians, as is well known, are the prisoners of their own parties and of their parties' doctrines. In time M. Caillaux became a pro-German, as all French Radicals always are, from sheer fear of a war, and because a financier is inevitably attracted by the chances of business on a large scale offered by a Franco-German combine. During seven years M. Delcassé, at the French Foreign Office, had worked for an Anglo-French Entente;



Keystone

Joseph Caillaux, former French Premier, who has "come back" —at least part way

M. Caillaux went on the other tack, and actually governed as Prime Minister as if he were sure of an alliance of France with Germany. The results are well known. Before the war M. Caillaux made over to Germany a splendid French colony in Africa against a German permission to France to develop Morocco under narrowly definite conditions. During the war his attitude was suspicious. It will be best understood by people who have read M. Dumur's novel "Les Défaitistes" and realize that a man can act in a strange way without being conscious of it, and be on the verge of treason, thinking himself a patriot all the time. Certain it is that M. Caillaux was condemned to three years' banishment for "endangering France's alliances," not by his political adversaries, but by Senators of his own party.

Most people would be crushed by such a blow coming at such a time. But M. Caillaux showed astonishing resilience. As soon as he was released from his imprisonment he began to speak and write in a lofty, prophetic manner, and while waiting for an audience in his own country he almost immediately secured one abroad. The success in America of his confusing books and articles—as difficult to follow as his spoken utterances are clear and elegant—has long been a surprise to people who know how to read. Somehow Americans have deceived themselves into imagining that here was another Dreyfus and a high-minded pacifist, not mentioning one of the greatest financiers alive. His most obscure statements and his most violent denunciations of his own country have been listened to with respectful attention.

Well, M. Caillaux is no victim; he is, on the contrary, an exceedingly lucky person. As for his views, they consist in a vague advocacy of international reconciliation based on labor co-operation and in definite measures tending to prompt nationalization of individual property. In America he would be regarded as an extremely dangerous politician, but, as he happens to speak of peace in the tone of Signor Nitti, he is looked upon as a Christian instead.

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The South—and 1924

By GEORGE F. MILTON, JR.

The dominant political issues in the South are prohibition, the League of Nations, liberalism, farm aid, and Muscle Shoals. Mr. George F. Milton, Jr., tells how these issues will affect the fortunes of William G. McAdoo and Oscar W. Underwood

WHAT will the South do in the 1924 Democratic Convention? What will the South do in the election?

Usually, the latter question is a superfluity. But this year some close observers of political conditions 'neath the famous and elusive Mason and Dixon's Line are convinced that under certain contingencies, such as the nomination of a "wet" as Democratic candidate for President, several of the Southern States would be doubtful in the election.

Nor is the South's position in the Convention as weak as might on the surface appear. Although the States of this section lack in themselves enough convention votes to nominate a candidate, they do possess, by virtue of the two-thirds-majority rule in force, a strength amply adequate to veto the choice of any man obnoxious to them.

The sudden death of President Harding, with its consequent effect of changing the Republican Convention next year from a ratification rally into a free-for-all scramble for the nomination, has not affected thus far the status of the various Democratic aspirants in the South, nor has it eliminated the grave danger to the Democratic party in the South of a "wet" candidate.

Thus far of course there are two outstanding contenders for the Democratic nomination: William G. McAdoo and Oscar W. Underwood. Their partisans are already actively engaged in "lining up" delegates for the Convention. But before going into a consideration of the political assets and liabilities of these aspirants it may be well to look into the qualifications which a large, and likely dominant, part of Southern Democracy is applying as a touchstone to the would-be standard-bearers.

In brief, the South wants the next candidate to be "right" on these matters:

1. Prohibition. Economically and politically, the South is dry, and intends to remain so. It would be more likely to split with the Democratic party on prohibition than on any other single issue. If a "wet" were selected as Presidential candidate to pacify the damp demands of Tammany, the loss might be greater than the gain. Tennessee's backsliding in 1920, when the electoral vote of the Volunteer State appeared in the Harding column, should be remembered. Kentucky is not too firmly Democratic for a misstep not to alienate her. Republicans in Virginia carry the Ninth Congressional District regularly, and could perhaps put up a stiff scrap throughout the State if the Democratic platform were wet. In Texas a "wet" for President, plus the Ku Klux Klan, might cause considerable trouble. The South won't be satisfied with a "wet" candidate, or even a "moist" one. A very appealing thing about President Harding's record to the South was his firm stand for thoroughgoing Volstead Act enforcement. President Coolidge's pronounced dry views continue this appeal, and may be a pillar of strength to the next G. O. P. nominee below Mason-Dixon's line, if he has a "wet" opponent.

2. League of Nations. Southern Democratic sentiment, in the main, is well convinced that America should in some way co-operate with the rest of the world in the world's rehabilitation. The League of Nations, the World Court, and other essays at this end have the cordial approval of the greater part of the party membership. The foreign vote is light; the native-born were, and are still, fired with the Wilsonian vision of what could come to the world through international co-operation. They still believe it possible, and will not take over-kindly to a candidate who emphasized his determination to balk them in this hope.

3. Liberalism of Spirit. There is a general feeling of unrest, of uneasiness, and of dissatisfaction with the politicians who have been prominent and influential in the past three or four years. There is a tendency to consider them the servants of the interests, rather than of the public; to think that certain powerful corporations have their attentive ear. This isn't voiced or understood by the lesser machine politicians, but by the lowly voters, and the ward heelers and errand runners are as ready as ever with their "me too" to Old Guard pronunciamentos. Often there are none so blind to popular feeling as the lesser politicians, who should be practical psychologists *par excellence*. The farmer, laboring man, man on the street, in the South want a candidate whom they think can't be bought or influenced; a man who isn't a Wall Street lawyer or friend; who will do what he can to keep the high surtaxes high; who will batter down the tariff wall, promote better markets for farm products, stop sugar and gasoline gouges, lower railway rates, and reduce taxes. It's a big order, but that's what the masses are talking about.

4. Aid for the Farmer. On the whole, the South has been the least unprosperous part of the country, agriculturally, for the past two years—largely because the ravages of the boll weevil, a real menace to the section's weal, have not been aided by a total closing of the world market for cotton. The Southern farmer does want the "spread" between producer's price and consumer's price narrowed. He doesn't like the middleman to get such a large part of it. He doesn't know exactly what's the matter, but he wants something done about it. He is beginning to suspect that the rebuilding of markets is what is needed, instead of tariffs, loans, free seeds, or political panaceas.

5. Muscle Shoals. The South wants Henry Ford's offer for the great unfinished hydroelectric plant accepted. It wishes it because Ford has fired the imagination of the people with his vision of an industrial city in the Tennessee River Valley seventy-five miles long. The aspirant for the nomination who does not make a definite and favorable statement as to his advocacy of the Ford proposal will not arouse a great deal of enthusiasm in the central South. The man on the street thinks that politicians have side-tracked this offer; that it has been a dirty piece of work.

As to Candidates. One might as well dismiss John W. Davis, of West Virginia and New York; the South doesn't know him, and isn't strong for a candidate to whom it will have to be introduced. A few of the Old Guard, inclined to the interests, tried to boom him in 1920, and didn't get very far with it. The name of E. T. Meredith, the former Secretary of Agriculture, doesn't rouse a ripple.

Then there is Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York. A liberal; a poor

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boy who has worked his way up; a candidate whose career is of the Lincolnesque type, usually so appealing to the masses. But Smith is a wet. He has signed the Prohibition Enforcement Repeal Bill in New York State with a lengthy appeal aimed at "States' rights" support, which fell flat in the South. He eliminates himself. Prohibition and liberalism go hand in hand in the South, where here it was always the reactionaries, the hard-shells, the tools of the interests, who fought prohibition. Again, Al Smith is a Catholic. There is no use discounting the Ku Klux Klan in politics. The order of hooded knights has had a few defeats in recent elections, but it is representative of a considerable body of Southern belief which has imbued itself with the belief that the Catholic Church is seeking control of the American Government, that it is corrupting the schools, and so forth. However mistaken such ideas, they are widely and fervently held, and the nomination of a communicant of the Church of Rome would alienate thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of highly valuable votes.

Oscar Underwood, Alabama Senator, has announced his candidacy for the nomination. His support comes largely from the machine politicians, ultra-conservatives, and reactionaries, aided by what remains of the Southern "wets." Despite his declaration for enforcement of prohibition, there is considerable disquietude as to Senator Underwood's record and position on prohibition. His record of opposing ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and of fighting a State Constitutional amendment providing prohibition for Alabama is well known. Despite his accidental geographical position, Underwood would not command the strong support of Southern "drys." His economic views are considered somewhat illiberal.

Underwood's ability, likability, and power of leadership are universally conceded. He is a forceful speaker and personally popular. But outside of the Old Guard, who wish to see a return of the "good old days," his candidacy has aroused no great enthusiasm; even in Alabama it does not seem spontaneous. The Senator has been a protagonist of the Ford offer, but not quite as active as north Alabamans have wished. His League of Nations views are orthodox enough, but not of the determined nature generally desired.

Control of Alabama political machinery gives Underwood a good chance at those delegates unless Ford still makes a fight or the McAdoo organizers alter their policy of not invading other candidates' native States except for second-choice instructions. Underwood has always been strong with Old Guard Georgia politicians, but with the people, in a primary, McAdoo might lead him. He is weak in the Carolinas and in Tennessee, where, significantly enough, his adherents are largely the friends and followers of the irreconcilable Senator John K. Shields, a fact much commented upon in the State.

Underwood has a friend in Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, but McAdoo is generally stronger in that State. Underwood's real hope for delegates is in the "wet" East—New York, New Jersey, etc.—and not in the South. The attitude toward him was expressed the other day by a typical man on the street: "Oh, yes, Underwood's got ability, but he's been too wet to suit me."

McAdoo is the second candidate now before the public who demands consideration. He is Southern by birth, born at Milledgeville, Georgia, the old State capital; educated at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville; a young lawyer in Chattanooga. He has a host of personal friends and a few personal enemies in the South. His subsequent residence in New York and his present affiliations in California give him a Nation-wide hold geographically. McAdoo more nearly fits the qualifications the South requires than Senator Underwood. He is a strong "dry;" Mr. Bryan, whose tepidity toward McAdoo at the San Francisco Convention in 1920 contributed to the latter's defeat there, is now thought to have been assured of McAdoo's soundness on prohibition. The great majority of Bryan men in the South are now fighting for McAdoo with ardor and determination.

On the League of Nations McAdoo's position is more conciliatory than that of Mr. Wilson; yet it is unswerving on the fundamental belief that America must co-operate in the rehabilitation of the world by membership in some type of world association or league. Nor does McAdoo see why "the League" isn't still a possibility. He is an internationalist in the finest sense. A liberal at heart, his theories of low tariffs, taxes distributed in proportion to ability to bear them, better markets for farm products, firmer control of monopolies and trusts by the Government, agree excellently with traditional Democratic theories.

The main ground for opposition to him is the fear that he will seek Government ownership of railways. Adherents of other aspirants are already making the welkin ring with denunciations of Government ownership—and of McAdoo. It is a position, by the way, which Mr. McAdoo has not, and will not, take. It can be stated with authority that he never has been and is not now committed to a policy of public ownership of railways. In recent discussions with his political advisers he has made it plain that he won't be caught in this pitfall. His attitude on it is that, while ultimately conditions might perhaps make such a step advisable, they have not yet arrived; that while war conditions made Government operation a necessary measure for the successful prosecution of the war, peace-time factors are different; that private ownership has not exhausted its capacity for operation, and must, under strict supervision, have another chance.

Throughout the South labor is extremely friendly to McAdoo; Negro labor remembers that during the war McAdoo put Negro railway engineers and firemen on the same pay status as the whites. The Southern farmer, whose crop prices were not limited (cotton, a non-food crop, being the main output), has no dislike for McAdoo.

In a nutshell, Underwood's Southern strength is largely political; McAdoo's, personal, political, and economic. It is more likely to grow to a powerful organized force. At any rate, the bubbling of the South's political pot between now and June, 1924, will be well worth the watching.

Women

are acting as executive heads of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Women

are urging a policy of aloofness from partisanship and the doctrine that enrollment in one party is not necessarily a life sentence.

Women

are fighting for a separate party of their own, working for women against men.

What part will these conflicting elements play in the coming elections and the future development of America? A forthcoming Outlook article gives the views of such women as Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, National President of the National Woman's Party; Mrs. Maude Wood Park, President of the League of Women Voters; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party; and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, of the Republican National Committee.

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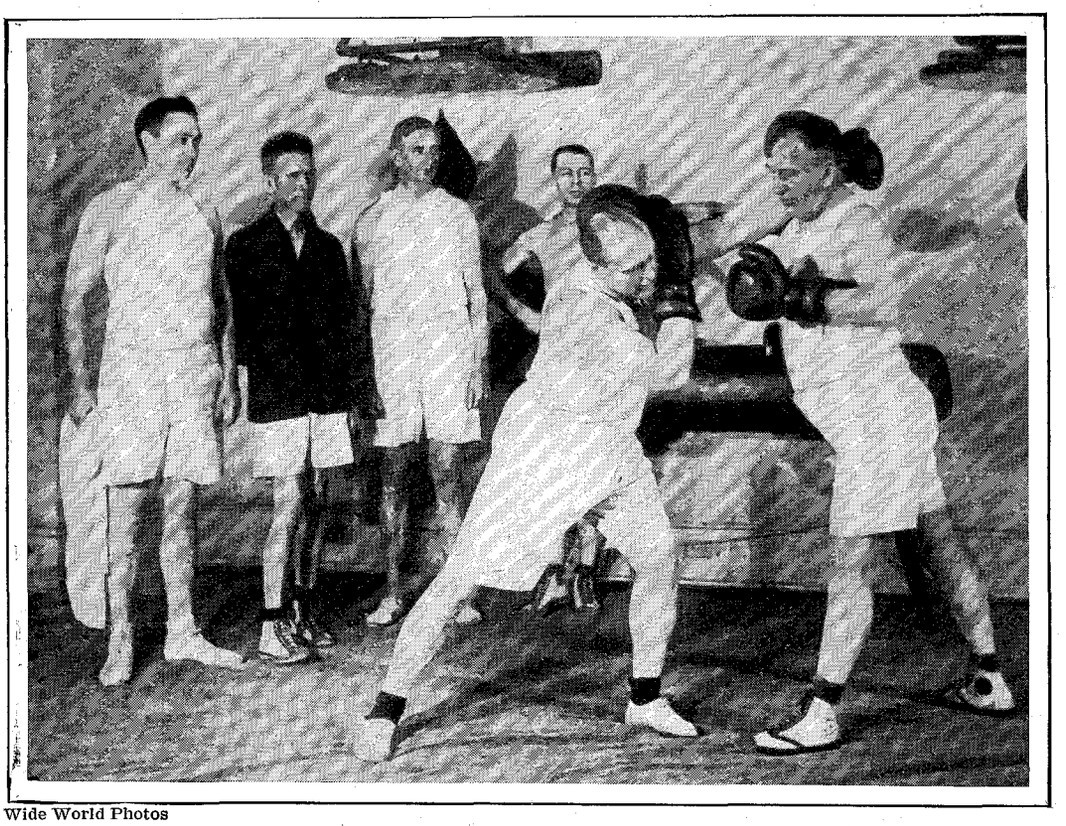
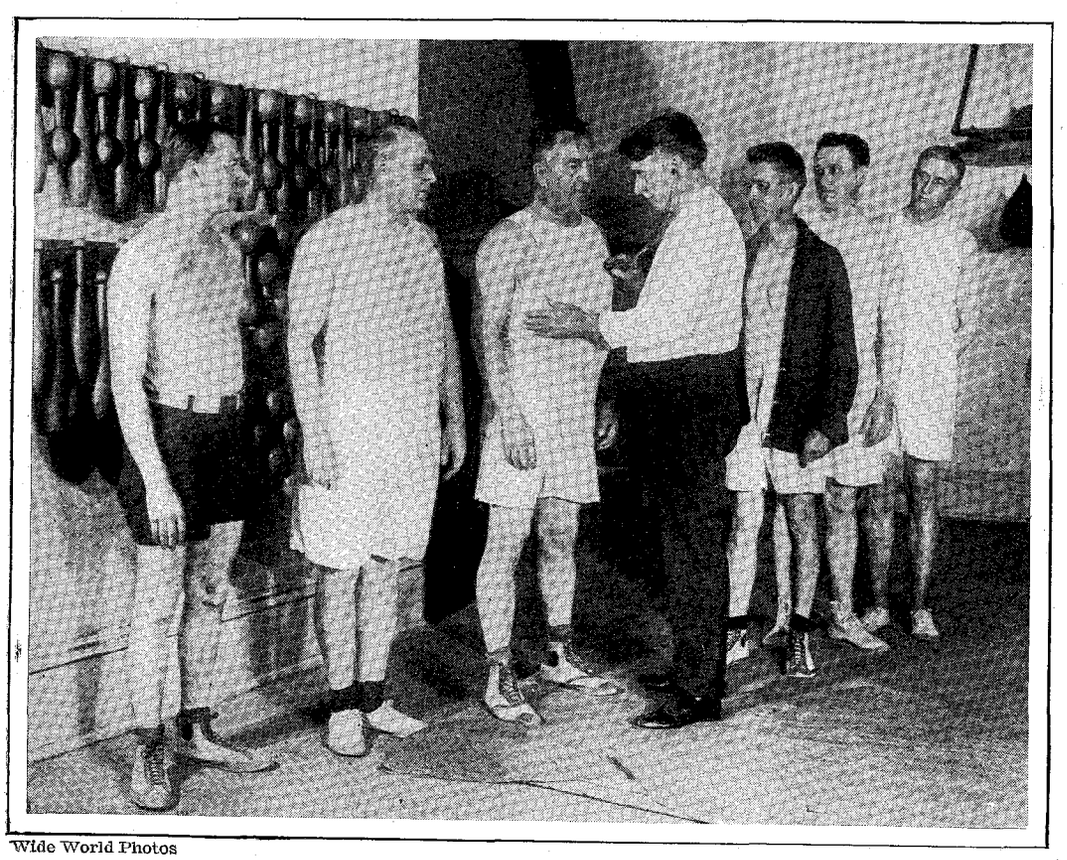
Better Exercise than Log-Rolling

A Friendly Bout in the House "Gym"

Congressmen need physical exercise after their strenuous mental work in framing the Nation's laws, and they get it in the House of Representatives' gymnasium. We see here Representatives Roy Fitzgerald, of Ohio, and O. J. Larson, of Minnesota, with the gloves on, while in the background as spectators are Congressmen Gordon Browning, of Tennessee; M. C. Allgood, of Alabama; Alfred Taylor, of West Virginia; and C. J. McLeod, of Michigan



Wide World Photos



Wide World Photos

Senator Copeland, of New York, examining Congressmen in the House "Gym"

Senator Copeland is a physician by profession and was formerly Health Commissioner of New York City, and is therefore well qualified to pass on the physical qualifications of these Congressional athletes, who are the same men that appear in the above picture

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The Book Table

A Century with "Elia"

By GERTRUDE M. RIDGWAY

PERHAPS from no author have we derived more pleasure without pain than from Charles Lamb. His "Essays of Elia" have been familiar to all lovers of fine literature for a century. A truly literary atmosphere had just been created for him by Thomas Gray and Smollett, by Chatterton and Sterne, by Richardson and Fielding, Swift and Pope. Only twenty-five years before Samuel Johnson had lit his torch and literary London was still being scorched by it when Lamb made his appearance. Burns, Wordsworth, and Scott were each under eighteen, and Jane Austen was born the same year, and she, more vividly than any other, portrays England of Lamb's day.

The hundredth anniversary of the "Essays of Elia" is being, one might almost say, hallowed in various ways this fall. The Grolier Club, of New York, is having an exhibition of "Lambiana" where one can see displayed the various editions of the "Essays of Elia," those given by Lamb to his friends inscribed in his hand, and much valued material relating to their conception and publication.

Perhaps it is the old inns and temples of London that more than anything else link Charles Lamb with the present. In the Middle Ages the Knights Templars made the Inner Temple their stronghold. History tells us that the Red Cross Knights walked there at eve, and the gallants of Tudor and Stuart times paraded their powder and ruffles. And here once grew, according to Shakespeare, in deadly rivalry, the fatal white and red roses of York and Lancaster. But the Temple has an added charm, since Charles Lamb was born there in 1775. From his earliest years he breathed the poetry and romance of such surroundings. From here to the monastic atmosphere of the School of Christ's Hospital, one of the few foundations which escaped Henry VIII's acquisitive zeal, Lamb went to receive his education in the Chaucerian atmosphere of friars, pardoners, and priests. It was here he met Coleridge, who remained his lifelong friend. The other friendships he formed here and the merits and demerits he detected in the arrangements, manners, and customs of the school are already familiar to us in his essay "Christ's Hospital Five-and-Thirty Years Ago," one of the Elia essays. After Christ's Hospital, the India Office claimed the best years of his saddened life. There is an almost forgotten verse written at this time by his early friend Charles Lloyd which hints at the hidden sorrows of Lamb's life:

> He walked along his path in steadiness,
> In solitude, and in sublimity;
> None ever knew his desolate distress,
> And none shall ever know it now from me.

Between Lamb and his admiring friends Charles and Robert Lloyd existed a very unusual friendship. It was this friendship which inspired the following letter, which might easily be called Lamb's "Essay on Friendship." It was doubtless inspired by Lamb's knowledge of his own weaknesses and his reluctance to have any one put him on the heights that Robert Lloyd had erected for him. The kindliness of Lamb and what the Scotch would call his "humeelity" make the letter most interesting:

> My dear Robert, Mary is better, and I trust that she will yet be restored to me. I am in good spirits, so do not be anxious about me; I hope you get reconciled to your situation. The worst in it is that you have no friend to talk to—but wait in patience, and you will in good time make friends. The having a friend is not indispensibly necessary to virtue or happiness—religion removes those barriers of sentiment which partition us from the disinterested love of our brethren—we are commanded to love our enemies, to do good to those that hate us—how much more is it our duty then to cultivate a forbearance and complacence towards those who only differ from us in dispositions and ways of thinking—there is always, without

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very unusual care there must always be, something of self in friendship, we love our friend because he is like ourselves, can consequences altogether unmix'd and pure be reasonably expected from such a source—do not even the publicans and sinners the same?—Say, that you love a friend for his moral qualities,—is it not rather because those qualities resemble what you fancy your own? . . . this then is not without danger. . . . The only true cement of a valuable friendship, the only thing that even makes it not sinful, is when two friends propose to become mutually of benefit to each other in a moral or religious way—but even this friendship is perpetually liable to the mixture of something not pure—we love our friend, because he is ours—so we do our money, our wit, our knowledge, our virtue, and where ever this sense of appropriation & property enters, so much is to be subtracted from the value of that friendship or that virtue. Our duties are to do good expecting nothing again, to bear with contrary dispositions, to be candid and forgiving, not to crave and long after a communication of sentiment & feeling, but rather to avoid dwelling upon those feelings, however good, because they are our own—a man may be intemperate & selfish, who indulges in good feelings, for the mere pleasure they give him. I do not wish to deter you from making a friend, a true friend, and such a friendship where the parties are not blind to each other's faults, is very useful and valuable—I perceive a tendency in you to this error, Robert. I know you have chosen to take up an high opinion of my moral worth, but I say it before God, and I do not lie, you are mistaken in me. I could not bear to lay open all my failings to you, for the sentiment of shame would be too pungent. Let this be as an example to you.—

Robert, friends fall off, friends mistake us, they grow unlike us, they go away, they die, but God is everlasting & uncapable of change, and to him we may look with chearful, unpresumptuous hope, while we discharge the duties of life in situations more untowardly than yours. You complain of the impossibility of improving yourself, but be assur'd that the opportunity of improvement lies more in the mind than the situation—humble yourself before God, cast out the selfish principle, wait in patience, do good in every way you can to all sorts of people, never be easy to neglect a duty tho' a small one, praise God for all, & see his hand in all things, & he will in time raise you up many friends—or be himself in stead an unchanging friend—God bless you. C. LAMB.

This expressive letter was written in Lamb's early youth, when he was unconsciously storing his mind with observations and experiences which were later to be incorporated in his "Elia Essays." His first essay consisted very largely of material gathered in his seventeenth year. It is probably unique for a man who all his life had meant to be a writer not to find himself until he was forty-five, and then to do so with material fetched from his teens.

The "London Magazine" made its first appearance in January, 1820, and Lamb was invited to contribute occasional essays. The first, "The South Sea House," appeared in August. When writing the essay, Lamb remembered an obscure Italian clerk in that office of the name of Ellia, and as a joke appended that name to the essay. In subsequent essays he continued the same signature, which became inseparably connected with the series. "Call him Ellia," writes Lamb, to his publisher John Taylor, and it seems probable that the name was really thus spelled. Between August, 1820, and December, 1822, Lamb contributed twenty-eight essays, thus signed, at the rate of about one a month. The success of the series was so great that in 1823 Taylor and Hessey induced Lamb to publish them in a volume entitled "Elia, Essays which have appeared under that signature in the London Magazine." Lamb states that he should have received thirty pounds profit, but that he never received the money. The essays in their magazine form brought him only one hundred and seventy pounds.

The "Elia Essays" claim the unique distinction of having passed into one hundred different editions during one hundred years. This honor has not been granted to any of Lamb's contemporaries, among whom were Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, and Carlyle. Some of these were Lamb's dearest friends, but most of them were full of reforms—religious, moral, and political—and, although Lamb lived in his own time fully, he was never of it. During his fifty-nine years he lived through the American Revolution, the career and death of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Battle of the Nile, the Irish Rebellion, the Battle of Trafalgar, the War of 1812, and the Battle of Waterloo. He saw George III, George IV, William IV, the fall of Louis XVI, and also the rise of Fox, Burke, and Pitt. But, as Pater so truly says, he succeeded in catching and recording more frequently than others "the gayest, happiest attitude of things." It is because he succeeded in touching the heart rather than the intellect that one hundred years after, in a world full of new conquests, deeper sorrows, world-wide distress, when one asks the question, "Why is 'Elia' so treasured a volume?" that one must answer, "Because Lamb describes with so much sympathy most of the normal feelings of mankind, because he understands so truly and is so cheerful to the lowly, so companionable to the luckless. Because he is always on the side of those who need a friend."

W. Hazlitt

Lamb, above all others, possessed the gift of transmuting the most unpromising material into gold. "A Dissertation upon Roast Pig," "The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers," "A Bachelor's Complaint of the Behaviour of Married People," "Grace Before Meat." Who but a master could treat such commonplace topics with confidence of success? Lamb makes them fresh and beautiful. The fashion to-day is to sexualize great and noble sentiments, but Lamb elevated the commonplace instead of degrading the excellent.

We are all familiar with the essay on "Roast Pig," the original manuscript of which found its way last year into the library of J. P. Morgan, who paid the large sum of $12,600 for its possession.

Lamb's first panegyric upon "Roast Pig" was written in a letter to William Hazlitt:

Dear Hazlitt, . . . We have received your Pig and return you thanks, it will be drest in due form with appropriate sauce this day. . . . Mary has been very ill indeed since you saw her, that is, as ill as she can be to remain at home. But she is a good deal better now, owing to a very careful regimen, she drinks nothing but water and never

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goes out, she does not even go to the Captains. Her indisposition has been ever since that night you left town, the night Mifs W. came; her coming, and that damn'd infernal . . . Mrs. Godwin coming & staying so late that night, so overset her that she lay broad awake all that night, and it was by a miracle that she escaped a very bad illnefs which I thoroughly expected. . . . Yours ever, C. LAMB.
Wednesd. 28 Nov. 1810.
I just open'd it to say the Pig upon proof hath turned out as good as I predicted. My fauces yet retain the sweet porcine odor. . . . Mrs. Reynolds, who is a sage woman, approves of the Pig—"

The Miss W. referred to was Dorothy Wordsworth, sister of the poet. Mrs. Godwin was the mother of the "Claire" of Byron and Shelley. Mrs. Godwin published several of Charles and Mary Lamb's books; she was a woman much dreaded by many in her circle, including her husband, William Godwin, who was everlastingly in debt. Hence Lamb's strong and descriptive language concerning her visit to Mary was warranted.

Perhaps Lamb's own summing up of his Essays best reveals just what his contemporaries really thought of him. He eulogizes in his most characteristic fashion thus:

> Crude they are, I grant you—a sort of unlicked, incondite things—villainously pranked in an affected array of antique modes and phrases. They had not been his, if they had been other than such. Egotistical they have been pronounced by some who did not know, that what he tells us, as of himself, was often true only (historically) of another. . . . If it be egotism to imply and twine with his own identity the griefs and affections of another—making himself many, or reducing many unto himself—then is the skilful novelist, who all along brings in his hero or heroine speaking of themselves, the greatest of all. Few understood him; and I am not certain that at all times he quite understood himself. Your long and much talkers hated him. The informal habit of his mind, joined to an inveterate impediment of speech, forbade him to be an orator; and he seemed determined that no one else should play that part when he was present. . . . He was too much of the boy-man. The 'toga virilis' never sate gracefully on his shoulders. The impressions of infancy had burnt into him, and he resented the impertinence of manhood. These were weaknesses; but such as they were, they are a key to explicate some of his writings.

Here we have evidence of a man greater than his written works. Behind this great English essayist is a story of a human being who bore more than one man's share of suffering, but so great a soul had he that into his work he poured only the finest essence, touched with a still finer vein of humor that never yet has failed to cast its subtle spell over all true lovers of fine literature.

The New Books

THE DRAMA

KING'S DAUGHTER (A). By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

This five-act dramatization of the story of Queen Jezebel of Samaria is more convincing of the author's poetic genius than of any dramatic talent. The play is written in verse, for the most part unrhymed, and the emotional development is carried on to the accompaniment of two choruses that chant the story of woes that issued out of Helen of Troy. It is a drama of religious hatred and treachery and intrigue on the one side, and noble purpose and innocence and suffering and disaster on the other. As a play it lacks driving force, lacks conviction, lacks interest. The action is precise and mechanical, wanting the feeling of life transpiring at high intensity. The lines devoted to the development of the play are low-pulsed, recitative verse. This dullness is occasionally relieved by impassioned speeches of a high poetic order, and the interpolations of the choruses are rich in poetic values. On the whole, the play—which was produced last May at the Oxford Playhouse, with a cast including Miss Judith Masefield—will add little to the author's contribution to contemporary literature.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

NATIONS OF TODAY (THE). Edited by John Buchan. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 6 vols. $5 per vol.

Mr. Buchan's history of the Great War has been applauded and appreciated as the best popular, easily read narrative on the subject. It was natural, therefore, that he should be selected as the editor-in-chief of the extensive work of which six volumes are now offered to the public in America and England. All of the great countries of the world will be treated, but each volume stands by itself, so that a reader interested in one particular country may purchase that volume alone. The subjects of these six volumes are: Italy, Japan, France, Jugoslavia, British America, Baltic and Caucasian Republics. The list of writers for the series includes many well-known historical writers and students of the several countries. Among the names we notice those of Hilaire Belloc, John R. Commons, R. N. Gabriel, H. M. Flem-

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ing, Major-General Sir F. E. Maurice, P. M. Miliukov, and André Tardieu.

Judging by the volumes now before us, we are impressed with the fact that these books are careful and fair-minded reviews of modern history and that they succeed in a satisfactory measure in carrying out the announced threefold purpose of the editors, namely, "to tell the story of the Living Past, not as a dull recapitulation of dates and facts, but as a picture of the vital movements which still dominate our current problems; to tell the story of the Living Present; and to portray the changes, political, economic, and social, caused by the War."

POETRY

IN EXILE. By John Cournos. Boni & Liveright, New York. $1.50.

This is a book of poems, for the most part in the freer forms, by the author of "Babel" and "The Mask," who is better known as a novelist than as a poet. The poems belong to a class of writing—more or less prevalent among the radicals and innovators—wherein the writer has not performed the elementary service of eliminating the irrelevant and accidental and revealing the essential at a vivid and concentrated intensity. There is a feeling of power, but of power unchastened and dissipated. The result is inadequacy of effect, even confusion as to intent. Although occasionally the author has taken the trouble to isolate an emotion and treat it intensively, as a whole the poems are unfused thought and feeling, incoherencies lacking in unity and in telling effect.

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The Mail Bag

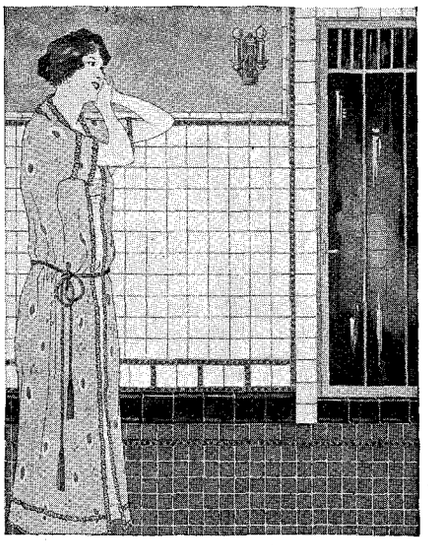
The Methodists and Red Orthodoxy

[Comment on this most interesting letter appears in the editorial section of this week's issue.—THE EDITORS.]

I HAVE just read the editorial entitled "Red Orthodoxy" in The Outlook for December 12. I feel sure you will welcome some additional facts bearing on this subject. Bishop Edgar Blake and I were the only representatives of any church in England or America present at the Second All-Russian Territorial Council of the Orthodox Church, which met in Moscow last May. With reference to the written pledge of $50,000, which I signed with Bishop Blake, may I say that it was made in order to assist the reformed Russian Church in the training of its ministry? It is true that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church refused to be responsible for this gift. We already have received for the Fund, however, $33,000 in subscriptions, almost entirely from Methodists. The $50,000 is payable in three years; more than three-fifths of the sum has been pledged in approximately five months. Three thousand dollars in cash has already been forwarded to the Russian Church authorities, and with this money a theological school has just been opened in Moscow. Under date of November 26, I received the following cablegram from Metropolitan Eudakim, Chairman of the Holy Synod: "At opening Moscow Theological Academy faculty and students send greetings to you our American friends who by their brotherly assistance made possible this joyful occasion."

Nine religious periodicals in the Methodist Church, with a total circulation of more than 250,000, are supporting the Russia Fund, while only two, with a united circulation of about 75,000, are opposed to the pledge. Eight prominent journals of other denominations are also favorable in their attitude towards the project.

You say in your editorial that the "so-called reformed Church is made up chiefly of those who condone the atrocious trial and brutal execution of Vicar-General Butchkavitch" and others. There were present at the Council in May, when the Russian reform was launched, nearly five hundred democratically elected delegates, lay and clerical. They came from all parts of Russia and included the Metropolitans of Moscow, Kiev, and Siberia, and more than fifty bishops and archbishops. Bishop Blake



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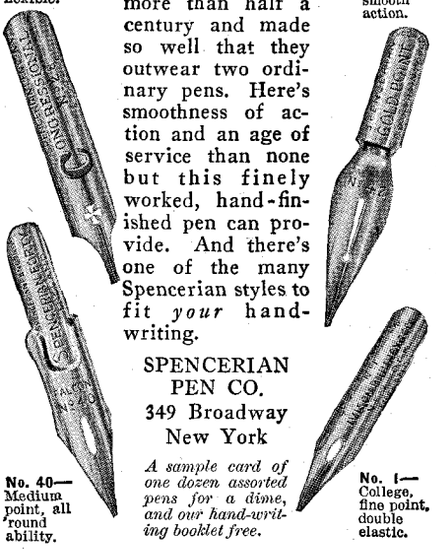

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The Mail Bag *(Continued)*

and I met many of these leaders and diligently searched for evidence that would show that the Council was under the control of the Soviet Government. We found none. Nor could we discover that the officers of the Council condoned executions. Indeed, Vedensky, the brainiest of the reformers and a man of genuine Christian spirit, expressly stated, for example, that he protested against the execution of Archbishop Benjamin. (See pages 256, 257 of Mackenzie's "Russia Before Dawn" for confirmation of this statement.) The Council of 1923, it is true, went on record as loyal to the Soviet Government. What church in any country does not explicitly or implicitly maintain an attitude of obedience to the government under which it is working? These reformers, however, just as definitely condemned in open council the atheism of their Government.

It might be well for us to consider some of the major actions taken by the Council of 1923. I reproduce them from my notes, checked and rechecked while in Moscow for errors in translation. The Council:

(1) Reasserted the decree providing for separation of Church and State.

(2) Unfrocked Patriarch Tikhon, who it was charged had been in collusion with royalist sympathizers for the re-establishment of czarism.

(3) Provided that hereafter priests of both classes in the Russian Church might marry.

(4) Went on record against the superstitious veneration of relics.

(5) Adopted the Gregorian Calendar of the West in place of the old Julian Calendar.

All these actions were progressive in character and look towards larger freedom in religion.

I have met the new Metropolitan of North America. He is a citizen of the United States and has been in this country twenty years; he is Protestant in his sympathies and declares that while in Russia some two months ago he received absolutely no orders or suggestions from the Soviet Government as to the conduct of his work here in the United States. In the legal contest now on between Platon, who was removed from the leadership of the Russian Church in this country by the Council of 1923, and Metropolitan Kedrovsky, it is worthy of note that Kedrovsky's attorney is Mr. Ralph M. Frink, an active layman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while Platon's lawyer is Mr. Thomas H. Mahoney, of the Roman Catholic Church.

L. O. HARTMAN.

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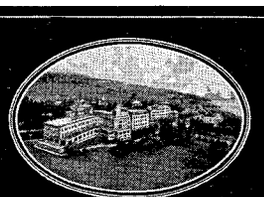

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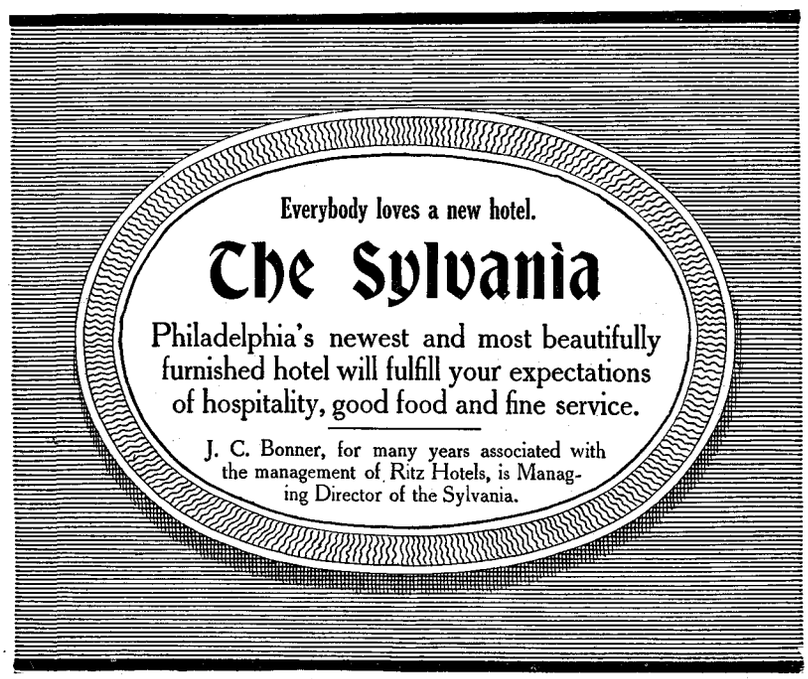
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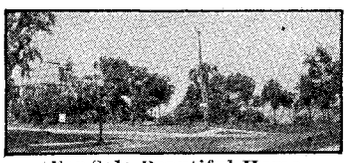

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By the Way

ANCIENT cities become lost to view not only when they are buried by volcanic eruptions, as with Pompeii, but by the ordinary deposit of falling dust. At least this would seem to be the case, judging from revelations made during the excavation of the cloisters of an old London church, as reported in an English paper:

"In excavating these cloisters," says Mr. E. A. Webb, the archæologist who conducted the work, "we had to remove about seven feet of earth from the floor. This depth of earth was partly due to the fact that London increases a foot in every one hundred years, through falling dust and other causes. In the city of London many of the old buildings have sunk from sixteen to eighteen feet below the surface since the Reformation; Bow Church is sixteen to eighteen feet below the surface of the road."

The two-dollar bill, it is reported, has been omitted from the new designs for United States bank notes. There is a prejudice against this bill because of the possibility of its being mistaken for a dollar bill. A two-dollar bill is therefore rapidly passed on, and it is said that its life is only about six months, when it goes back to the Treasury soiled and unkempt, with frequently one corner torn off. The mutilation is supposed to be due to the superstitious belief among those who play games of chance that tearing off a corner removes the "jinx" associated with the bill.

From the Washington "Star:"

"How can you say such cruel things of your antagonist in debate?" she inquired reproachfully of the statesman. "Oh," was the reply, "that's easy enough. I keep a scrap-book, and when my own ideas give out I go to that."

The present whaling season on the British Columbia coast has been the most successful for several years, according to "American Shipping." The total catch for only four months was 377 whales! How long can the species survive this wholesale destruction? The old-fashioned whaler took three or four years to get his cargo of oil and whalebone. His prey often escaped. But the modern steam whaling vessel with its guns and bombs means sure death to the great mammals that are sighted and possibly extinction of the species.

A farmer reports to the "Rural New Yorker" that a shepherd dog, five months old, is the brightest thing he ever had on his farm. "After the pup had been following my son out to get the milking cows at night," he says, "he performed the following practical piece of work. He ran out to the cows, headed them for home, drove them to the watering trough in the yard, gave them time to drink, then drove them into the barn and saw to it that each one went into its own stall and stanchion. Then the pup came and drove some brood sows into their sleeping pen. He then went to the boy, wagging his tail as if to say, 'What a good boy am I!'"

From the "Pennsylvania Punch Bowl:"

The Girl—"Meet me to-morrow night at the same place at seven o'clock."

The Boy—"All right. What time will you be there?"

W. H. Hudson, in "Hampshire Days," tells of a weasel's capture of a vole, in discussing the question whether birds and rabbits are "fascinated" by weasels. The vole, he says, had a very odd look when its enemy appeared. "Instead of a smooth-haired little mouse-like creature running smoothly and swiftly over the bare ground, he was all hunched up, his hair standing on end like bristles, and he moved in a series of heavy painful hops. . . . A grip, a little futile squeal, and all was over." Mr. Hudson startled the weasel, and it dropped its prey. It came back several times, was each time driven away, and then began uttering sounds low, soft, musical, and very sad, until, the naturalist says, "he quite melted my heart, and I turned away, leaving him to his vole, feeling as much ashamed of myself as if I had teased a pretty bright-eyed little child by keeping his cake or apple until I had made him cry."

From "Life:"

Fair shopper to grocer: "Can you tell me if there are any vitamines in lettuce?"

"Well, mum, there's bound to be a few insecks on most garden truck, but there ain't no reason in the world why you can't wash 'em off, if you've a mind to."

The local items of the country newspaper often furnish entertaining reading. Here is one (from the Benton, Arkansas, "Courier") which supplies us with a new verb: "Jim Harris and wife all-nighted with his mother, Mrs. Delilah Harris, one night last week."

From the Springfield (Missouri) "Leader:"

A woman is as old as she feels, and how she feels depends largely on what other folks think of her looks.

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